The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXI (No. 11) NOVEMBER, 1917 NO. 738

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CHICAGO

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, $1.00 (in the U.P.U., 5s. 6d.).

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1897, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879
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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, $1.00; flexible leather, $1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha,* which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerately undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

EROS.
A Hellenistic bronze in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (see page 700).

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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JAPANESE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

BY EUGENE PARSONS.

"We feel the East a-calling."
—*Kipling.*

IT is said that letters and books were introduced into Japan in the latter part of the third century after Christ. During the next two hundred years the land and people were slowly emerging from barbarism. The authentic history of Nippon, therefore, begins properly in the sixth century.

However, there are traditions of the olden days extant, and proverbs two thousand years old or older have come down to us, so that we may say that we know something about ancient Japan and the Japanese philosophy of life from very early times. Myths and legends also throw sidelights on the national character and the national psychology of the Nipponese before the beginning of the Christian era. Nevertheless, we are hardly on solid ground in things Japanese until we reach a period about twelve hundred years ago.

Ancient Nippon had its Shinto shrines and temples. Like Palestine, the Sunrise Kingdom had its holy mountains. The Japanese then as now were a simple-minded people. What was more natural than that the naive islanders of Yamato should look upon the flaming sun as a divine being? Thousands of years ago they greeted the appearance of the vast ball of fire with chants of praise at sunrise. Fujiyama, the grand old mountain of Japan, was once a volcano and was sacred to the fire-goddess, who holds the supreme place in Japanese mythology. On the top of peerless Fuji they built a shrine, which is the Mecca of all faithful Shintoists. At least once in their lives they ascend to the crater-pinnacle of the beautiful

Fujisan. After a night on the slopes or summit, the pilgrim is up before daylight, and his heart is thrilled at sight of the sun rising above the billowy horizon out at sea. The humble peasants of the land, as well as the nobles and the rulers, have stood on that majestic eminence and bowed in reverence, singing praises to the god of day. From time immemorial religion has been a part of the lives of the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago.

In a sense it is true that Shinto is a sort of state religion in the Island Empire, and has been for thousands of years. Shinto is a "patriotic" cult. It is a purely native cult, although there are points of similarity between it and some of the religious beliefs of the mainland of Asia. There are also points of difference. Shinto is a form of nature-worship something like that of ancient Hellas. The pantheon of Shinto has fourteen thousand deities. Shinto (sometimes called Shintoism) means "the way of the gods." Lafcadio Hearn says Shinto is, "in many ways, a noble creed." Ancestral worship, filial piety, and loyalty to the sovereign ruler of the land—these are the three chief precepts of the national religion of the Island Empire. These fundamentals (to say nothing of others) of Japanese Shintoists date back to antiquity.

Shinto has been described as "a bundle of miscellaneous superstitions," some of them debased and debasing, and yet it is a power in Japan to-day. Government officials are trying to keep it alive. Shinto shrines are repaired at government expense, and a number of Shinto temples are supported by state or local authorities.

With the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century A. D., the spirit of Yamato was changed. The Buddhist missionaries, the "calm brethren of the yellow robe" with their sacred books, did a great work for Japan. The teaching of Gautama came to Nippon from India *via* China and Korea. It is said that Buddhism "made Asia mild." Certainly the faith of Sakya Muni had a softening and humanizing influence over the Japanese. The gorgeous ritual of Buddhism appealed to them. With many of the Japanese converts religion became an enthusiasm, the chief thing in life. An army of ecclesiastics grew up—priests, monks and nuns, who devoted their lives to the extension of the refined, speculative Hindu cult. The simple-minded people of Nippon were captivated by the new religion with its elaborate ceremonies. However, the mystical doctrines imported from India were somewhat modified by the patriotic, practical Japanese.

In their passionate zeal for the new faith, emperors, princes and nobles took to proselyting and temple-building. The founders

of religious structures lavished on them a wealth of costly decorations. The artistic impulse of the race found expression in religious emblems and fanciful adornments. The medieval period brought forth stately shrines and lofty towers whose architectural grandeur quite eclipsed the primitive Shinto *miya,* even as the pomp of ritual in the Buddhist temples was far more impressive than the simple services of the earlier times. The choicest examples of the marvelous art-crafts of Japan are to be seen in the temples founded by the shoguns of Old Japan.

In the ninth century nearly all of the Shinto shrines and temples were served by Buddhist priests, who introduced one by one the laboriously wrought carvings and other features characteristic of India's famous temples. Thus was formed what is known as the Ryobu-Shinto style of architecture.

Kukai or Kobo Daishi, a Buddhist saint of the ninth century, is the first noted thinker of Old Japan. This versatile man, renowned as a sculptor and painter, may be called almost great. He is said to have blended and reconciled the teachings of Shinto and Buddhism, and largely through his influence the architecture of the temples of Shinto-Buddhism combine the simple style of the ancient Shinto shrine with the more elaborate decorations of the Hindu Buddhist temple. Kukai is said to have founded the Shingon ("true word") sect. There is a tinge of melancholy in his philosophy, with its suggestions of fatalism and resignation. A characteristic utterance of Kobo is the little *imayō* poem, which suggests more than it expresses:

> "Having to-day crossed the mountain fastness of existence,
> I have seen but a fleeting dream, with which I am not intoxicated.
> Though their hues are gay, the blossoms flutter down,
> And so in this world of ours who may continue forever?"

This is Kukai's interpretation of Nirvana. The four seed thoughts that he versified are as follows:

> "Everything in this world is changeable.
> There is nothing that is everlasting.
> Where the life of birth and death ends,
> There the supreme felicity of Nirvana begins."

This tiny ode (of only forty-eight syllables), which popularized the essence of the Buddhist teaching of his sect, is a favorite piece of literature among the Japanese.

Two small volumes of moral maxims, "Teaching of the Words of Truth" and "Teaching for the Young," were compiled by Buddhist

abbots of the ninth century. The texture of these ethical reflections is woven of three strands—Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism. Some specimens are quoted in Professor Chamberlin's *Things Japanese*. These precepts have been for ages as familiar to the youth of Japan as the sayings of the Sermon on the Mount are to us. They emphasize the value of the things of the spirit, and especially the importance of reverence for holy things and obedience to Heaven's commands. In Japan filial piety has for ages been highly esteemed.

The authorship of "Teaching of the Words of Truth" (*Jitsugo Kyo*) is popularly ascribed to Kobo Daishi. It is to be remembered, however, that some of these maxims of practical ethics were current coin before his time (774-834). This artist-priest traveled by ship to China. He did not know Sanskrit, but he read Chinese versions of the sacred books of India. He also studied the words of Confucius and other philosophers of the Flowery Kingdom. The words of this famous Japanese teacher still live in the hearts of the simple folk in the Island Empire. His is the wisdom of eclecticism. After his return from China, Kukai was given a temple site by the emperor and he devoted himself with enthusiasm to a propaganda of his teaching, which was not all made up of mysticism and speculation. He made appeal to the common run of people with his epigrammatical utterances, of which a number are quoted (from *Jitsugo Kyo*):

"Treasures that are laid up in a garner decay; treasures that are laid up in the mind decay not.

"If thou study not earnestly in the days of thy childhood, thy regrets in old age will be all unavailing.

"The superior man loveth him that hath wisdom; the mean man loveth him that hath riches.

"Be ministering to thy father and thy mother from morn to eve.

"Be not contentious among friends.

"If thou cultivate not the friendship of those that practice the three precepts,[1] how shalt thou disport thyself in the forest of the seven virtues?[2]

"If thou honorest others, others in like manner will honor thee.

"He that practiceth righteousness, receiveth a blessing; it cometh as surely as the shadow followeth after the man.

"Though thou shouldst be exalted, forget not the lowly; some which were exalted are now fallen low."[3]

[1] The three precepts are: (1) Keep the commandments; (2) Subdue the passions; (3) Practice benevolence.

[2] The seven virtues are: (1) Carefulness; (2) Choosing the truth; (3) Fasting; (4) Repressing anger; (5) Tranquillity of mind; (6) Subduing the passions; (7) Abandoning the world.

[3] *Cornhill Magazine,* August, 1876.

Some of the rules of conduct sound like echoes of the proverbs of Solomon. Several other Japanese exhortations of medieval times are given, viz.:

"Be reverent when thou goest past a grave; alight from thy horse when thou goest past a Shinto shrine.

"Human eyes look down from the heavens; commit no wrong, however hidden. [This is good Shinto doctrine.]

"The gods punish fools, not to slay but to chasten them; the teacher smiteth his disciple, not from hatred but to make him better. [This sounds like a paraphrase of the Scriptural verse, "Whom the lord loveth he chasteneth.]

"Life, with birth and death, is not enduring; and ye should haste to yearn after Nirvana."

This paper does not profess to be a profound study of the developments of Japanese Buddhism. Honen and Shinran were influential expounders of the message of Gautama or Amida. These two Buddhist priests of Japan founded powerful sects about seven hundred years ago. Ito Jinsai is another learned teacher, but a Confucianist. The most eminent of the representative men of Japanese Buddhism is Saint Nichiren (1222-1282).

"He by his originality and independence made Buddhism a Japanese religion," says Uchimura in his little book of essays on *Representative Men of Japan.* "His sect alone is purely Japanese." The disciples of the fiery Nichiren have been called "the Jesuits of Buddhism." At the age of twelve he was placed in the temple of Kiyozumi and entrusted to the care of its benignant abbot. After a novitiate of four years, he was consecrated a priest. Four years more he passed in the country monastery, then he bade goodby to his abbot and fared forth to Kamakura, where he spent five years. Then he set out for further search after knowledge, seeking enlightenment as to what was genuine Buddhism.

Nichiren studied and pondered the sutras, and finally selected one as the canon of supreme importance and authority, the one having the beautiful name of "The Sutra of the Lotus of Mysterious Law." This piece of writing, a product of some five hundred years after Buddha's death, Nichiren regarded as the standard of the Buddhist faith, and he thought it his duty to preach the true sutra throughout the land. His zeal nearly cost him his life.

An interesting story is told of this wandering teacher. He had spent nearly a score of years in study and contemplation. The man of thirty-one was on a visit to his childhood home. One morning he rose early and took a walk down to the seashore. "As the rosy sun was half above the horizon, Nichiren was upon a cliff

looking toward the broad Pacific, and to the seas before him and the mountains behind him, and through them to the whole universe he repeated the form of prayer he had framed for himself, the form that was intended to silence all others, to lead his disciples to the end of the earth, and be their watchword to all eternity,—the form, indeed, that embodied the essence of Buddhism, the constitution of man, and of the universe. It was NAM-MYO-HO-REN-GE-KYO, Namah Saddharmapundarikaya Sutraya, I humbly trust in the Sutra of the Mysterious Law of the White Lotus."[4]

In the afternoon he addressed his townsmen and was mobbed. The daring zealot had to flee; his life was in peril. He made his way back to Kamakura. Here the great Nichiren sect had its beginning. He began street preaching, something never heard of in the land before. His earnestness and sincerity made an impression. Slowly he gained a following. Not only by speaking but by writing did he combat the errors of other sects and proclaim his message until he was singled out for persecution and banished to a far-off province. He remained in exile three years, making converts. Then he boldly returned to Kamakura, "an incorrigible priest, heedless of the destruction now hanging over his head." One evening, when on his missionary tour with several of his disciples, he was suddenly attacked by a company of men, swords in hand. The master himself was wounded and three of his disciples were slain. "Thus the sutra had its first martyrs in Japan."

In the autumn of 1271, Nichiren, regarded as a "danger," was delivered over to the executioner. He was saved by a miracle, as the popular account goes. He was now banished to a barren island in the Japan Sea. After an exile of five years this indomitable hero again set foot in Kamakura. At last he was free to lecture and explain his views without hindrance or fear of persecution. The enthusiasm of his followers had no bounds. The new faith won many adherents. At the age of sixty he died, "the honestest of men, the bravest of Japanese."

Of the preaching of Nichiren and the creed of his sect, a writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed., Vol. XV, p. 223) remarks: "It was based on the *Saddharma pundarika,* and it taught that there was only one true Buddha—the moon in the heavens—the other Buddhas being like the moon reflected in the waters, transient, shadowy reflections of the Buddha of truth. It is this being who is the source of all phenomenal existence, and in whom

[4] *Representative Men of Japan,* p. 208. See also "Nichiren Tradition in Pictures" by T. J. Kinvabara in *The Open Court* of June, 1913.

all phenomenal existence has its being. The imperfect Buddhism teaches a chain of cause and effect; true Buddhism teaches that the first link in this chain of cause and effect is the Buddha of original enlightenment. When this point has been reached true wisdom has at length been attained. Thus the monotheistic faith of Christianity was virtually reached in one God in whom all creatures 'live and move and have their being.' It will readily be conceived that these varied doctrines caused dissension and strife among the sects professing them. Sectarian controversies and squabbles were nearly as prominent among Japanese Buddhists as they were among European Christians, but to the credit of Buddhism it has to be recorded that the stake and the rack never found a place among its instruments of self-assertion."

A decade or two ago the Nichiren sect numbered millions of devoted adherents; it had five thousand temples, manned by four thousand priests and eight thousand teachers. Time has winnowed out some of the master's tenets and notions that cannot stand the test of present-day criticism. However, Nichiren has been and is a civilizing agency in Japan.

Leaving metaphysical discussion out of consideration, one may say that the influence of Buddhist teaching in Japan is noticeable in two directions. It has made for peace; it has tended to keep the Japanese people from quarrels and revolutions among themselves, and has restrained them from going to war with other nations. Buddhism has also made the Nipponese kind to animals. Of course, Confucianism has greatly strengthened the peace sentiment in the Island Empire. Buddhism and Confucianism made Nippon "The Land of Great Peace." Contrary to the impression that some American politicians and editors try to make, the Japanese people as a whole do not want war with the United States.

One of the practical-minded men of Old Japan was Kaibara Ekken, born in 1629. The elder Ekken was a physician, and his son had unusual opportunities to acquire knowledge. The greater part of his life was passed as a teacher in the private school kept by the Kuroda princes. On reaching the age of seventy, he retired to spend his remaining years in literary work, writing volume after volume of meditations that have given him a deservedly high rank among the Japanese philosophers. A selection from his writings, translated from the Japanese, has lately been added to the series of volumes, Wisdom of the East. This little book has the attractive title, *The Way of Contentment,* the translation and introduction being by Ken Hoshino. There are three divisions: "The Philos-

ophy of Pleasure," "Precepts on Popular Morals," and "Miscellaneous Sayings."

Ekken (or Kaibara, as he is generally known) was a popularizer of Confucianism. His books were welcomed by the people, for Confucianism has much in common with Shinto, namely: Veneration of one's ancestors, respect for parents, and allegiance to the ruler. In a word, Ekken was a conservative, revering Heaven and upholding institutionalism. In his eyes Buddhism was objectionable; its founder was proud.

Kaibara did not lay claim to originality; he was content to be the mouthpiece of the great sages. He believed in the nobility of man. "To be born a man is a privilege," he said. "To live as men should live we must from childhood study the wisdom of the sages, and learn to make ourselves and others happy by deeds of benevolence." Some of his terse reflections are quoted here without comment.

"Find your pleasure in doing good. Be gentle, compassionate, and merciful. Be severe, however, when necessity compels you, for gentleness not accompanied by discrimination and orderliness dispels pleasure. Do not do things which are obstructive to others. To have pleasure yourself, and distress others, is the one thing which Heaven hates; but to enjoy with others is what pleases Heaven, and is the true pleasure. Follow, therefore, the command of Heaven, and make it your pleasure to do good and diminish the evil of the world, so that you may make your own life and that of others happy....

"Suppress anger and selfish desires; be broad-minded and think no evil of others....

"Those who can enjoy the beauty in the Heaven above and the Earth beneath need not envy the luxury of the rich, for they are richer than the richest. The pleasures of the vulgar pass away, and bitterness remaineth instead, for they are harmful to both mind and body. But the pleasures of the wise are pure, and food for the mind. From morning until night, without injury, may he enjoy them.... He delights in the moon and the mountains, the flowers and water. With the wind he sings, while listening to the song of the birds. Simple pleasures such as these may be enjoyed by all, whether rich or poor.... The wise man knows contentment, because he is not covetous; he is rich in mind though poor in worldly goods....

"Keep your heart serene and calm; enjoy your leisure and haste

not.... Do not let a day slip by without enjoyment, for to-morrow may be not yours to enjoy....

"A brave man is always gentle and kind....A truly courageous man is always calm and happy."

Such are some of the moralizings of this Thomas à Kempis of the Far East, who prized the simple life. His thoughts have sunk deep into the hearts of his countrymen, who know how "to renounce, when that is necessary, and not be embittered." A man of noble nature was Kaibara, who had learned the way of contentment, because he had the five great blessings (except one): "Long life, peace, riches, love of doing good, and death without pain in old age."

There are many more golden sentences in this little book of wisdom, which will bear reading and re-reading with profit to the inner man. The Emerson of Japan, Ekken might be called. A famous work of his *Anna Daigaku,* is a plea for the higher education of women.

Shinto and Buddhism are dying creeds. However, these ethnic faiths are strongly entrenched in the country districts. The two forms of worship are interblended, as are their tenets. Loyalty being buttressed in the native religions, the authorities are naturally anxious to foster reverence for the old shrines and temples. Since the revolution of 1868 it may be said that Buddhism has been in a state of gradual decline, but decadent as it is it is still a power in the Land of the Chrysanthemum. It is still a religion acceptable to many Japanese, by whom Brahma is held in the utmost veneration, and there are those who believe that the age-old teachings of the sages may yet rise to a resurrected glory. They did now and then produce a high type of saint, like Toju, who is remembered as one of the nation's greatest benefactors.[5]

A new type of mind is growing up in the twentieth-century Japanese. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government and individuals to galvanize the old national cult, the people are lapsing into neglect of the gods. Prayer is still a power in the lives of some, and occasionally may be found one who is not without aspiration, although this is not encouraged by the reading of Herbert

[5] Buddhism had its opponents in Old Japan. Nakae Toju (1608-1648) was one. His ideal was perfect humility, and he thought Buddha was too egotistical and self-conceited. The Sage of Omi, as Toju is called, took Confucius for his master. Though only a village teacher, he was an advanced thinker, who profoundly shaped the life and thought of his own generation and later times. He wrote commentaries on the Chinese classics. He taught that might is not right. One finds germs of Platonism in his system of thinking.

Spencer and other western philosophers. The Christian missionary and teacher are doing something to foster the spiritual life. The nation is at the parting of the ways—it cannot be both pagan and enlightened. In this transition period the foundations of character are endangered. However, there is an instrument of social control whose value for the moral education of Japanese young men can hardly be overestimated, Bushido, "The Way of the Knight." This ethical code is as admirable for producing a high type of manhood as was that of chivalry in feudal Europe. The basic principles of Bushido are: Rectitude or justice; courage, the spirit of daring and bearing; benevolence, the feeling of distress; politeness; veracity or truthfulness; honor; the duty of loyalty; self-control. An excellent exposition of the Samurai philosophy of life may be found in Dr. Nitobe's *Bushido, the Soul of Japan.* The Yamato spirit was and is nourished by the precepts of knighthood.

Proverbs are the philosophy of a people boiled down. The phrases whose authorship is unknown and the short, pithy sayings of the wise men of old crystallize the ideas that have been approved by long experience.

By dwelling on the noble thoughts of the philosophers and the injunctions of Bushido, the high-minded Nipponese keeps up the soul's energy. Thus he sustains the lofty resolve and prepares himself for worthy achievement. Time-honored maxims have an added weight and solemnity when uttered as counsels and warnings by parents, friends and teachers, or by the pastor, who is as an elder brother to his countrymen in a foreign land. The voice of a departed loved one is an inspiration to good. Says Yoshio Markino, in *A Japanese in London*: "Even in my hardest time, it seemed to me that the Samurai spirit of my dead father above was always demanding me, 'Keep your own dignity.'"

The Occident has something to learn from the Orient, the lesson of patience and fortitude taught by Confucius: "He is the truly courageous man who never desponds." The Japanese youth of to-day is sustained and stimulated by the body of precepts bequeathed by the wise men of old, also by the saints and reformers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There is an old Japanese proverb, "He who brings sunshine into the lives of others, cannot keep it out of his own." There is a wealth of meaning in the oft-uttered exclamation, *Banzai* ("Cheer up"). Unlike the serious Chinese, the motto of the Japanese seems to be, "Smile and be happy!" The middle-aged man has not forgotten how to play; he knows how to relax. Sport keeps him young

in spirit. Cheerfulness, happiness, is the keynote of the creed of the average Japanese, be he a pagan or a Christian, and yet he takes life seriously. He is a worker, and bears his burdens without whimpering.

St. Paul had learned the "mystery" of being content with little. The Japanese have also learned the art of getting along with little and being therewith content.

The little brown men are home-loving. The young man is industrious and thrifty; he saves that he may marry and found a home, because he believes that is the way to live. Good-sized families are the rule in the Yamato archipelago.

The Nipponese is intensely patriotic. When his country calls he willingly responds, and he does his duty manfully in the camp or the hospital, on board ship or on the field of battle, ready to do or die for the empire and the emperor. Of his bravery and efficiency as a soldier there is no question. He is a hero without knowing it.

An eminently sensible people are the Japanese. They have tact and know how to get along with others. They are suave and courteous. "Their politeness is rooted in genuine kindliness," says Prof. Basil H. Chamberlin after a twenty years' residence among them. "The best thing in the world is kindness," runs an old Japanese proverb. "Be ye kindly disposed one toward another," said the great reformer Yozan. This is the secret of the good manners of the people of Nippon. They are forbearing, slow to resort to violence. They realize the necessity of avoiding friction. "Do not quarrel—it will do more harm than good," is one of their everyday axioms. Says Albert Leffingwell, in his *Rambles Through Japan*:

"The longer I live in Japan, the more I am struck with the innate kindliness of the people. In practical conformity to the teachings of Jesus Christ, in gentleness, in meekness, in a willingness to bear evil, the Japanese are to-day more really a Christian nation than any people of Europe or America. Although Buddhism may be an 'outworn creed,' it has at least served to prepare for the reception of a better by creating a population more considerate of each others' rights and privileges than many another even in the Christian world."

They are neat in their personal appearance. They believe that the wearing of good clothes makes for self-respect. One of the cardinal articles of their faith and practice is that cleanliness is godliness. "Take a hot bath every day," says one of the rules

laid down by the Japanese government for guidance in matters of health.

Otherworldliness was the principal thing, the ruling passion of the Japanese Buddhist living in the Middle Ages. The reigning motive and ambition of the educated Nipponese of the twentieth century is to think and act in the living present; at the same time to long for the higher life. The modern Nipponese wishes to be known, not as a mystic, a dreamer, but as a man who does things.

The Japanese takes as his watchword: "Be patient, ever looking forward with hope." In time of adversity, of misfortune that is inevitable, he stoically shrugs his shoulders and observes, "It can't be helped (*Shikata ga nai*)."

The ambitious student, poor but proud, is not above menial labor; he can say with General Nogi, who, speaking of his boyhood days in school, remarks: "I began at times to doubt whether I should be able to go through with the task I had set for myself, but I never allowed myself to lose heart."

There never was a truer adage than this: "Be an early riser." The Japanese say: "There is a special providence over those people who rise early and go to work with assiduity."

"Poverty cannot overtake diligence," is a truism of the Yankees of the East, known and followed long before the time of Poor Richard.

"Nature abundantly rewardeth those who obey her laws," is the working faith of the toiling farmers of Nippon. As a result, the country is cultivated like a garden. The arable portions, only about one-fifth of the Island Empire, are made to yield the utmost possible.

Self-help was the keynote of the teaching of the celebrated peasant-saint, Ninomya Sontok, who said: "Poverty must be made to rescue itself." Another saying of this Oriental Franklin, "Duty is duty irrespective of its result," parallels Tennyson's lines:

> "Because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

The moralist is abroad among the Nipponese. There are many precious nuggets of wisdom to be found among their apothegms relating to all sorts of matters, social, political, religious, practical and even humorous. That the higher life is prized in the Sunrise Land is evident from this sentiment: "The soul of him who remains pure in the midst of temptation is like the lotus that remains pure and undefiled, though growing in the foulest slime."

A curious proverb is that relating to old Japanese mirrors, which were made of metal, "When the mirror is dim, the soul is unclean."

One of Saigo's didactic observations, "Heaven loves all men alike," recalls the Scriptural passage, "The rain falleth upon the just and unjust."

The moral element in success is recognized in the commonplace, "Money can do much, but virtue more."

Saigo's admirable definition of civilization—"What is civilization but an effectual working of righteousness, and not magnificence of houses, beauty of dresses, and ornamentation of outward appearance?"—suggests Sir William Jones's poem, "What Constitutes a State?"

In the ages agone sententious admonitions shaped the conduct of the farmer-peasant and the commonest fisherman of Dai Nippon. To-day the principles of morality are instilled into the minds of schoolchildren of tender years. Among other things ethics and loyalty to the emperor are taught. The imperial rescript on education, which went into effect in 1890, is a mine of valuable instruction. It is the law and gospel of the inhabitants of the Japanese realm, from the highest to the lowest.

"Give opportunity to genius," is the exhortation of an ancient phrase-maker of the Land of the Chrysanthemum. The love of beauty has been a national characteristic for more than a thousand years. Ever since the eighth century, if not earlier, the people of the Sunrise Kingdom have successfully cultivated the arts and letters. The craftsmen of Old Japan felt a hunger for idealism. This was the secret of the excellence of their workmanship.

OUR PATRIOTISM DOUBTED.

A DISCUSSION WITH THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

INTRODUCTORY.

WE have been attacked in the *New York Tribune* for "sedition" and "a German propaganda in disguise," an accusation which is ridiculous, for all that probably was meant seems to be based on the idea that we do not agree with the war policy of the administration. But even if that be true, we are as good Americans as any American citizen, and sedition or a fomentation of sedition has been as far from us as it would be impossible to attempt it. We

here present the case to our readers in expectation that they will form their own opinion.

Here follows the attack, my answer, and a letter from the *New York Tribune* explaining why they refuse me a hearing.

ENEMIES WITHIN.

BY H. ROGER THOMAS.

[An attack on *The Open Court* reprinted from the *New York Tribune,* September 17, 1917.]

To the Editor of the New York Tribune.

The other day Albert N. Weber, a loyal editor of a foreign-language newspaper, *The Croatian Flag,* advocated in a letter to the *Chicago Tribune* "an organized campaign of patriotism in our foreign language newspapers." This idea of Mr. Weber's surely can be endorsed by every true patriot.

But in his letter the Serbian editor made even a more trenchant remark. "By the way," he said, "I venture the information that the disloyal German papers are not the only ones to spread sedition in this country, but there are appearing every day a great many publications printed in other languages than German which are working industriously for the Kaiser." He was quite right as to this.

My purpose in writing this letter is to call the attention of your readers to another such as these. This, like the most harmful of German propaganda, lurks under misleading disguise. It is cleverly designed to influence favorably the opinions of the readers to the German *Aufschauung.*

The periodical I refer to is *The Open Court* magazine, whose cover-page assures the subscriber that it is a monthly devoted to "science of religion, the religion of science and the extension of the religious parliament idea." I am one of its untiring readers, and I can truthfully state that when it exercises the true function as a journal of comparative religion it becomes indispensable to the student of ancient and modern cults and faiths. Functioning in this way, I believe it fulfils the motive in the mind of the founder, Edward C. Hegeler; but under Paul Carus, whose erudite works on various phases of ancient art and modern philosophy denote a German-trained mind, the magazine has undergone such a change of policy that it is obviously, even to the casual reader, a poor camouflage, behind which pro-Germanism (in its best intellectual light, naturally) is rampant.

At the very beginning of the war the editor welcomed contributions to the pages of *Open Court* which were unmistakably

pro-Central Powers. No issue of the magazine appeared without having somewhere among its pages a few words of excuse for German policy and condemnation for England and Russia. Knowing this, I looked with interest at the numbers published since our proclamation of April 6, but Paul Carus did not waver in his firm loyalty to Wilhelm. He deserves the sort of praise that a German professor pays in a recent issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. "From my own point of view, the German-American press should be criticised for lack of courage, which is easy enough to understand, but nevertheless is not commendable."

Herman Hagedorn, writing of the menace of the German-language press, spoke not long ago of "the subtler and therefore more insidious propaganda contained in the literary sections of these papers." It is in the book reviews of *Open Court* that I find the strongest support given to enemy doctrines; even the choice of books is significant. Nowhere else in America have I seen a review of a German book published in the empire on "England as Sea Robbers."

In the subjoined passage, extracted from a review of Cosmos's "Basis of Durable Peace" (which "Kappa," who thus signs his review, calls a ridiculously impossible solution of the problems of the war), is the boldest apologia for certain German offenses that I have ever seen in English or German:

"If Cosmos had been fair, he would have shown that the present submarine campaign is provoked by Great Britain, and Great Britain is alone to blame for it....The condemnation of the Germans for the destruction of the Lusitania reminds me of the condemnation of a Russian Jew, who was accused of having caused the breaking of a great show window and was condemned to pay for the window and the costs of the court. The fact was that some person had thrown a stone at the Jew, but the Jew evaded the stone and the stone crashed into the window. When the offender was taken to court by the owner of the store he claimed absolute innocence of having smashed the window, because he had intended to hit the Jew and not the window; so the Jew was considered guilty because he had dodged the stone and caused the smashing of the expensive pane, and the court, in the truly Russian spirit, which condemns the Jew under all circumstances, made the poor Jew pay. The explosives were not intended for the passengers on the boat, but for the German soldiers in the trenches, so our manufacturers are innocent of the catastrophe—but the Germans are the guilty ones that should be blamed and hated as Huns the world over."

The advertisements are not such as are usually seen in loyal

papers, either. "Ayesha" and "Odyssey of the Emden," for example; but almost any one would say that as these are cracking good adventure stories, no harm is done in advertising them. But what do you say to "Carlyle and the War," in which it is conclusively proved that the immortal Thomas would have put out a manifesto condemning England's actions in the great war; of Roland Hugins's "Germany Misjudged"; or Eduard Meyer's "England: Its Political Organization and Development and the War Against Germany" (note the innuendo in the title)? The motto seems to be "anything to knock England." If not her commercial supremacy, as in Alfred Granger's "England's World Empire," wherein a well-known Chicago architect, to quote the booksellers' eulogy, strips bare the infamous project of Great Britain, then her intellectual products, as in W. H. Wright's "Misinforming a Nation," which pans the *Encyclopædia Britannica* for not being an Encyclopædia Americana, Gallia, Germania, Slavia, Italica, written by jig-time journalists and German savants with an up-to-date Freudian outlook.

If the scholar of religions expects that he will find more material proper to his interests in the August number after the wildest of the German journalists of this country have toned down, he'll be disappointed after looking at pages 458-464. I think the *Tribune* should cull a few posies for its German-American bouquet from the editor's article on "English Diplomacy," in which he would show that the sole aim of Lloyd George and the Cabinet is to make "rapprochement between these two countries [America and Germany] impossible." England, claims Herr Carus, wants no commercial rivals, so she would be glad of a chance to embroil her nearest possible competitors.

If your pro-German readers are dissatisfied with the half-hearted treason of the various *Zeitungs* and *Herolds* let them drop a line to 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, of course, and get a monthly that will be *fest und treu für Deutschland.*

Sincerely yours,

ANN ARBOR, MICH. H. ROGER THOMAS.

NOT SEDITION BUT TRUE AMERICANISM.

(In Answer to the Attack on *The Open Court.*)

BY THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

The *New York Tribune* of September 17 contained an article on *The Open Court* which is not so much a criticism as a mis-

representation, nor can it be called unfair so much as ill judged. When I read the article I could not help smiling, for there I was accused of sedition and of making a propaganda for Germany. And why? Because in the August number of *The Open Court* I set forth the character and superior qualities of English diplomacy and published the review of a German book on "England as a pirate state."

The article in the *Tribune* is signed by a certain Mr. H. Roger Thomas, of Ann Arbor, Michigan; and having read his accusations I really feel that no answer is needed, for the August number of *The Open Court* is obtainable, and readers of Mr. Thomas's article can convince themselves whether I attempt to make a German propaganda or to spread sedition. The worst I can say about myself is that I do not sympathize with our policy in entering into this war, and if that is a crime make the worst of it. I am willing to stand up for my conviction. If according to the present administration I am not entitled to have a conviction, I shall gladly bear the consequences whatever they may be.

There is at present a tendency to denounce every American as a traitor who does not bow to the Union Jack and to regard any reference to the facts of our Revolution as seditious; for Great Britain is now our ally, and we must twist our judgment of her institutions so that we regard them as a democracy in spite of the declarations of English officers when in a former war they had taken possession of Washington.

If I say anything about England, do I pay homage to the Kaiser? Or if I publish a review of a German book on England and her usurpation of the seas, does that stamp me as an unfaithful citizen of the United States? Assuredly not. I would sow sedition only if I delivered over the interests of my country to a foreign power, be it Germany or England.

I am an American, not in the sense that I was born in this country, but for a better reason than that of the accident of birth—because America is the land of my choice. I believed in Americanism before I set foot on American soil. I expressed my views on the subject publicly and I need not repeat what American patriotism is to me.

Patriotism, however, has come to mean something else in these days. It means to-day a faithful allegiance not to America alone but also to Great Britain, and we are guided by English advice, and England's slogan has been adopted, *Germania est delenda.*

Here is the point where I cannot follow. My logic gives out.

From the principles of my Americanism we ought to have remained strictly and honestly neutral in this war. So far as I can see, that policy would have been not only the most righteous way but also the best and wisest—yea from the standpoint of worldly cunning, the most correct and the cleverest. It would have set the United States at the head of civilized mankind.

I wish to say that neither *The Open Court* nor I myself as its editor, have ever been an enemy of the United States; nor have I ever favored sedition or made any German propaganda. I have always been a faithful and true citizen of the United States.

The United States, the country which is my ideal, and to which I owe allegiance, is the great republic of the Western hemisphere as it existed of old since the days of George Washington, and as it took its attitude toward the whole world under its founders as well as the several presidents of our historic past. I believe that this country should be an independent country, not directed or influenced or guided by any foreign power. Therefore I approve of George Washington's principle that we should beware of entangling alliances.

It is true we stand up for liberty and have been fighting for our own liberty. We like to see liberty spread all over the world, but it would be wrong to fight for the liberty of foreign nations. We would like to see liberty established in Ireland, in India, in South Africa, and we hope that the British empire will gradually grant liberty all round but we are not called upon to fight for them. The time must come when Ireland will be free, and we hope that the less we interfere the more peaceful will be the advance of her liberty. Our own liberty does not seem to be in any way endangered. The story that the Kaiser had ever seriously thought of conquering the United States is to me ridiculous; the scheme is too impossible —ridiculously impossible.

Are we fighting for the liberty of England? I do not know. Possibly the war will bring it about in one way or another; in a similar way as it did in Russia. Possibly yes, but it is not probable, not as yet, and it is certainly as little our intention to liberate England as it was to bring about the Russian revolution.

Perhaps we are fighting for the liberation of Germany? It almost seems so! Indeed we fight the Kaiser, not the German people, and have extended our hand of good fellowship to the people if they but abandon the Kaiser. Strange to say, the German people do not understand our good intentions; on the contrary even the Social Democrats have become faithful adherents of their

imperial tyrant. So we have no alternative but to fight and force their liberty upon the Germans.

The Germans do not understand us; they do not see that we come as liberators and wish to change their constitution into a democracy. But possibly we do not understand the Germans either. They have an hereditary constitutional monarchy in which the emperor is the head, but not the ruler in an unpleasant connotation. He is the head of the government, just as the father of adult sons is the head of his family. His sons are not his slaves but independent persons who however look up to their father with reverence and are willing to be guided by him—except when conflicts arise, and for such cases definite rules have been established. Probably it would have been wiser if before deposing the Kaiser from his office and denouncing him to his people, we had tried to understand the German mind and appreciate the meaning of the German constitution, even in details so similar to ours.

It is a pity that the Kaiser, and with him the cause of Germany, has been grossly misrepresented, and it would not be wrong of me, if I felt obliged to stand up, not for Germany, but for the truth. If an error becomes known to be an error, it becomes a lie and we should not uphold a lie even for a good purpose and with noble intentions inspired by patriotic motives. I have not done it, and do not mean to. I will stand up for the truth. History may misrepresent facts in single cases for some time, but not forever. History may officially falsify, but not forever. It will be possible to misinform our nation for quite a while, but in the long run the truth will come out and it would pain me to see the country of my choice taking a wrong position and making a stand that will not be to our credit. I know very well that under present conditions the English cause is advocated by us, and our department of Justice protects English conceptions.

The English view has become the standard of judgment, but it seems to me impossible that we can suppress forever the American view and make a foreign cause superior to our own. I cannot yet believe it and am ready to have the query proposed whether those who hanged Nathan Hale many years ago on this very day, the 22d day of September, in a New England orchard, those who sacked and burned the city of Washington and insulted the Constitution of the United States in the very assembly-room of Congress, are to be the dominant rulers in this country, or whether there is still something left of the spirit of George Washington to protect American interests and uphold American ideals.

A few years more than a century ago such views as held to-day by our most enthusiastic patriots were characteristic of a certain class of people who under the name of Tories were persecuted and suffered the martyrdom of expulsion. How times change! Who would have thought that to-day the situation would be reversed. The Tories claim to be patriots, and where they meet a man of George Washington's spirit they call him traitor and threaten to have him interned. To-day voices are heard who regret certain facts of history—the history of our revolution, and actually propose to re-write our schoolbooks so as to pass over in silence the execution of Nathan Hale and kindred events; indeed a little drama on the Spirit of '76 has been barred from the stage because it was deemed to offend, or would not be creditable to our noble allies, the English.

My critic says that *The Open Court* was founded by Edward C. Hegeler in the interest of "the science of religion, the religion of science and the extension of the religious parliament idea," and implies that I have been faithless to the founder's intentions. If there is one point of which I am sure, it is that I am in full agreement with the late Mr. Hegeler in my political convictions. He was a good American exactly in the sense that I am—a good American in the spirit of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. I have always borne in mind the purpose of Mr. Hegeler's ideals and I know that part of his religious aspirations was their application to political and practical life—above all the recognition of truth; and it is the truth which I have always served and will serve in the future.

In the question of war, the politics of our administration is not superior to truth, and if there is a conflict between the two I shall cling to the truth and not be dominated by our Secret Service police. I am an American. I have sworn allegiance to the Constitution and I will remain faithful to my oath.

At present there is a tendency to condemn every one who differs from the policy of the moment as a traitor, and even true Americanism is branded as disloyal. If George Washington himself came back, he would be persecuted for having uttered opinions which have now gone out of fashion.

Is it true that freedom of speech has been abolished? No! I do not believe it. Not yet. I hope that our country is not run down to such an extent as to suppress truth, and I will say that this is part of the principle with which the late founder of *The Open Court* was permeated when he founded it. In this special case I know exactly that I am one with him, and my attitude in these political questions has been fortified by the thought of his

ideals, especially by his hope that this country should not be a catspaw of England, but a truly free and independent country, and its power should be utilized not for the benefit of Great Britain, but for good the world over.

The United States will not suppress free discussion in order to enable our administration to neglect the constitution of this country and be at the service of an alien nation which was its master once, then tried to split the country into two rival confederacies, and has always been a sinister factor in our national history.

It would indeed be wrong to disavow the deeds of our ancestors and to forget that our liberty has been bought by a bitter struggle. We have grown large within a century, but with our outer expansion and increase of power we should not dwindle in courage or be reduced to pusillanimity. We ought not merely become large and larger but also great and greater, and we should not yearn after the fleshpots of Egypt or long again for subjection under British dominion, to become as of old the servants of Pharaoh, our former master, but should preserve our freedom for ourselves as well as for the benefit of the whole world.

May God protect America! May he sustain the ideal spirit of our ancestors, of the fathers of our country. May he strengthen the spirit of our pride of independence, of our noble aspirations to be free and brave and just. Otherwise we will be small in spite of the large dimensions of our growth.

This is the common wish of all Americans, and we all hope that in the future development of mankind America will be and forever remain a factor for good, and that for a worthy accomplishment of America's great task she will maintain her independence from generation to generation in the traditional spirit of the father of this country, George Washington.

PAUL CARUS.

LA SALLE, ILL., September 22, 1917.

LETTER FROM THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE IN EXPLANATION WHY AN ANSWER WAS RULED OUT.

NEW YORK, October 8, 1917.

Dr. Paul Carus,

122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR:

I am returning herewith, not very regretfully, the tract you have sent us as a communication to the editor on the subject of *The*

Open Court's relation to the war. We do not feel obliged to print it. Before we printed Mr. Thomas's communication we verified his quotations, and read, besides, more of *The Open Court* than we had ever read before and more, perhaps, than we shall ever again have the leisure to enjoy.

We were persuaded that Mr. Thomas's article was quite justified and we printed it, and we do not feel called upon to unprint it. So much for that. I say it purely from the publisher's point of view.

Now if you wish to carry the matter into another region, I may say to you, personally, that I disagree mainly as to the emotional propriety of treating the war at all on an intellectual plane. The war is the herd's business, we are in it, and before anything else we must win it, and that is not a matter to be reasoned about.

Yours very truly,

GARET GARRETT.

CONCLUSION.

Here we rest our case. We might prove our good Americanism by quotations, for we have often given expression to our views in editorial articles and also in verses, but we do not wish to play to the galleries or to burn off the fireworks of a fourth of July celebration. We only appeal to the feeling of justice in our readers and to their sense of logic whether Americanism, if it is true Americanism and not exactly either anti-German or pro-British must mean anti-Americanism. With the permission of *The Tribune,* we shall continue to consider ourselves good and faithful Americans.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE VATICAN.[1]

BY OTTO ROESE.

[Mr. Otto Röse, a German literary man who happened to be in Rome during the time just preceding Italy's declaration of war against her former ally Austria-Hungary, had an excellent opportunity to watch the development of the political situation in the Quirinal and has published his observations in the chronological form of a diary under the title *Im römischen Hexenkessel 1915.* We take pleasure in presenting here an English translation of a portion of his book referring mainly to the attitude of the Vatican during this critical

[1] Translated from Röse, *Im römischen Hexenkessel,* 1915, pp. 99-114, by Lydia G. Robinson.

period. It will be the more interesting to our readers since the Vatican again plays an important part in world politics by its peace proposals, much scouted and yet by no means ignored.

We must remind our readers of the position which the Pope was naturally obliged to take in his attitude toward the Entente. The government of France is hostile to the Roman Catholic church since the suppression of the religious orders; Russia has been the outspoken enemy of the church in suppressing the Roman Catholicism of the Slavs in the southeast and in Poland, and England is by no means friendly to Roman Catholic institutions. On the other hand it is true that Germany is not Roman Catholic since the majority of its inhabitants, including the house of Hohenzollern, are Protestant. Austria-Hungary, however, is predominantly Roman Catholic and the emperor still practices the traditional ceremony of once a year washing the feet of twelve beggars at his castle in his capital Vienna. A termination of this war unfavorable to the Central Powers would be the ruin of Austria and would end in a breakdown of the most representative Roman Catholic dynasty, the Hapsburgs.

Further it must be remembered that the freemasons, who are repeatedly mentioned in the article, have a different character in different countries. Belief in God is an essential doctrine of the freemasons, but how different is its interpretation! In England they are orthodox Christians, mostly belonging to the Anglican church. In France, however, freemasons are radical in their philosophical views and insist positively on the atheism of their members. This is also true in the countries under the influence of France—Belgium and Italy. But the freemasons of Germany stand between the two extremes. They insist on the belief in God but allow the brethren to have their own interpretation of the idea, provided only that they understand by God the authority of conduct as a real power which punishes wrongdoing and represents the directive force of society in the sense of "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." With the beginning of the war German freemasons tried to keep up their connection with their French and Italian brethren, but the latter have withdrawn and broken off entirely from the German branches, denouncing them as reactionary and unworthy.

We must confess that we know nothing of Mr. Otto Röse except that he holds a prominent position in the publishing house of Scherl and that he was educated first in Schnepfenthal and later in Munich. We do not know whether or not he is a member of the Roman Catholic church, but his sympathies seem closely allied with it and at any rate he shows great respect for the Curia. It is strange that His Holiness has been in friendly relations with Germany all the time, but we must consider that although the German empire is in the main Protestant it has always shown great seriousness in religious matters and has always respected the Roman church in her relation to her children.

What this war has in store for the Vatican remains to be seen, but it seems as if it might be possible for the papacy to have its independence restored on the right bank of the Tiber with free access from the sea.—Ed.]

Rome, April 23, 1915.

The city is swarming with people who have come on political business, and although to the innkeepers, cab-drivers, shopkeepers,

museum curators and all depending on the foreign trade for a livelihood they do not quite make up for the cessation of tourists, they nevertheless lend a piquant charm to Roman life. Commercially considered they are not quantity so much as quality, although to be sure of very different degrees of quality—little that is first class, but much that is original and delightful to look at, an ethnological fair that is terribly industrious.

The most numerous contingent is made up from the Balkan countries, picturesque types in a wide variety, partly of oriental grandeur and partly also that class which one feels he has already met peddling nougat and *rachatlukum* in public houses—versatile people well skilled in trade. Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Belgians furnish examples of more companionable people, a better brand in types of varying value....

But the eternal city regards herself as the most important of all, for she has not received so many political emissaries from the nations for many centuries, perhaps not since the time of ancient imperial splendor; and while greeting the clientele of the world she looks complacently at herself in the glass and thinks, "I am once more the head of the world, the *caput mundi.*"

In the meantime only a part, and probably not even the larger part, of the visitors are intended for the new kingdom of Italy, which with its stately appearing, and perhaps also brave, army (possibly not to be required either to shoot or be shot) thinks it can deal the decisive blow in the world conflict. It is true, chance has lent to young Italy an importance out of proportion to her strength, and yet far below the role of judge of the world in which she loves to view herself. Not on the left bank of the Tiber on the hill of the Quirinal where the ministers live, but across from it in the Vatican is a real *caput mundi* enthroned, the ecclesiastical head of the Catholic world.

The positivists of modern Italy do not seem to comprehend this nor do they like to be reminded of it; but how heavily the ecclesiastical power which from the secular point of view they like here to regard as unimportant and without weight, now falls in the scale of world politics, is one of the most instructive events of the present time and particularly so because of the contrast in method and conduct existing between the Curia and the Consulta, between ecclesiastical and secular diplomacy at Rome: On the part of the statesmen of the democratic kingdom, a masque with tragic accents, perhaps also with bloody results as in the favorite opera of Leoncavallo; on the other side tenacious work performed in silence and

yet not needing to hide itself, since it does not aim at keeping open different and contradictory paths, as one or the other promises the greater gain. In the politics of the nation a dazzling display of pathos and rhetoric to gloss over the really sensible plan of playing empire in the well-known fashion which awards the oyster to the judge and the shell to the combatants; in the politics of the church on the other hand, the manifest effort in all neutrality between the struggling nations to be on the side of those powers which in the opinion of the Vatican are worthy of it ecclesiastically, religiously, morally and politically, and are consequently of benefit to the church, i. e., within its own sphere of influence as is the understood aim of all diplomacy. In the Consulta no other principle than to make immense profits, the absence of foresight of a business house just starting out which is determined to establish itself under all circumstances and recognizes no respect for origin or vocation, not feeling itself so bound as an older house which of course can also make many business connections but prefers not to make them because they are not to its advantage; in the Curia on the other hand principles which for more than fifteen hundred years consistently form the structure of a system of politics, and which although admitting in practice various transformations, yet remain intrinsically unchanged and bear in their very constancy the guaranty of far-reaching consequences.

These very contrasts give occasion to presume that political peddlers who enter the chancelleries by the back stairways and display their packs of promises and desires together with all sorts of sweetmeats do not have an equally favorable prospect of making business on both sides of the Tiber. Nevertheless if the business draws more to the right than to the left this is a tribute to the superior power of the Catholic *caput mundi* which it would probably be glad to disclaim. It is incredible how much trouble is taken here to bring the heavy state coach of Vatican politics out of the traditional rut. It recalls the fable of the *mouche du coche,* where Lafontaine tells about the flies that thought they were turning the vehicle because they buzzed around the ears of the horses.

THE CHURCH'S ELDEST DAUGHTER.

Splendid specimens of the envoys extraordinary who buzz around here are those who come from France. First of all, the former minister of foreign affairs, Gabriel Hanotaux, historian and member of the Academy; then the famous novelist René Bazin, and the former editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Débats* and now

chief foreign correspondent in the *Matin,* Viscount de Caix—two faithful sons of the church; not to forget also Ernest Judet, editor of the *Eclair,* who though new as a Catholic politician is all the more zealous for that very reason. All were received by the Pope, were given an affable hearing and dismissed with spiritual consolation. Bazin, de Caix and Judet soon went back with a more or less satisfied air, but Hanotaux remained a while longer to work in the historical archives of the Vatican, and perhaps also in the hope that an opportunity might offer itself to make some discovery. Not one of them obtained what he came after; for the expression of warm sympathy for suffering France with which the Pope sent each of them upon his way did not avail them in the least.

On the other hand, however much Benedict XV would like to help all children of the church, he finds himself in the impossible situation of consenting to the political wishes and requests of envoys who come without credentials, can establish no constitutional guaranty and finally are simply private individuals as far as he is concerned. He has even been obliged to refuse French bishops who knocked in the the name of the president of the republic. For M. Poincaré is only the so-called chief of the executive power; he has no right to carry out his own decisions, can accomplish nothing without ministers and parliament, without the legislative powers, and therefore in the present case counts no more than a private citizen. The Pope is empowered to speak politically only with a commissioner who brings with him in the form of official credentials the confirmation that the French republic with legal power recognizes the Pope as head of the Catholic church. But France cannot now fulfil this condition because her government at present is still in the hands of red radicals and atheistic freemasons.

To the Pope, who has grounds for complaint against the hostility of the republic toward the church, against the separation of state and church, the dissolution and expropriation of the religious orders, etc., even the most eminent delegate can now make no reply further than to say that the time has not yet come, that no alteration of the laws can be expected from the present Chamber of Deputies, but that a great reaction is in progress which promises to bring a majority into the Bourbon palace that will be sympathetic to the church; and that then the Holy See will receive satisfaction. In fact a new impulse toward religion and the church is stirring among the French—even more among the bourgeoisie, who were formerly so strongly under the influence of Voltaire, than among the peasantry—and is combined with an enthusiasm for

King Albert of Belgium with dreams of a monarchy which once more will erect the altars thrown down by the republic and will make peace with the Curia.

Nevertheless facts of the present time and the most recent past contradict these dreams for the future and are not conducive to confidence on the part of the Vatican. Not very long ago the French government insulted the Pope by first forbidding the prayer for peace which he prescribed, and then not allowing it to be read until the bishops had given it an interpretation exactly opposite to the purposes of the head of the church. The French clergy itself gives allegiance to a conception of patriotism which seems pagan to the Vatican and so gives great offense. Under the leadership of cardinals and bishops they hold patriotic celebrations which stimulate the masses to hate and bloodthirstiness. The keynote was given by the sermons delivered by the Dominican Janvier in Notre Dame when the cardinal archbishop of Paris, Amette, presided. When the Pope then warned the French clergy that they should moderate their expressions and follow the example of the German bishops the indignation of those to whom the reproof was directed turned against him. Clergy, public and press began to take offense, to find fault, to threaten and to defy. But Benedict XV let nothing be wrested from him by their defiance.

Of course the noble-hearted Pope feels a sorrowful sympathy for the fate of the French nation, the "eldest daughter of the church" and once her favorite child, who in other days also has done much in the way of self-sacrifice. But exactly for this reason he cannot help wishing that the present regime of the republic which is hostile to the church will come to an end, though not that the present atheistic government would come out of the war strengthened by the victory of French arms. Only a broken and contrite France would hurl to the devil the enemies of the church who brought disaster upon her and would return to the fold of the church as she did after the downfall of Napoleons I and III. The inscription on the church of the Sacred Heart erected on the top of Montmartre and praised in the exigencies of the war of 1870-71 reads: "Penitent France to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus." First of all, then, penance, for which no Hanotaux is now able to furnish an adequate pledge.

THE PRACTICAL BRITON.

While the French government seeks to make an impression on the Vatican through eminent private citizens, the English govern-

ment has gone a step farther and has accredited an ambassador of its own at the Curia. England does homage to the head of the Catholic church when occasion arises, whenever she finds herself in a corner and needs its help. Even in the heat of the agrarian troubles in Parnell's time, she sent a representative to the Pope in order to have the support of the church in checking the Catholic Irish. This time too the end to be attained by way of Rome lies in the Emerald Isle and with its inhabitants, who are indispensable for British defense. For centuries England has drawn her soldiers (as well as her industrial workers) mainly from prolific, impoverished, starving Ireland. In the beginning of the present war recruiting did not progress as well as the government could desire since the brothers of the Irish who had emigrated to America cautioned them, but still it went on pretty well until the Irish bishops finally declared that proper provision was not made for the souls of the soldiers at the front, that the wounded were deprived of the consolation of the church especially in the hospitals which were governed by French law, no clergyman being admitted to a sickbed if the patient had not previously asked for him. As a result of the protest of the Irish bishops the recruiting came to an end. In order to remove this obstacle and in general to get the Irish, whose attitude was not all that could be wished, again more firmly in hand, the English government sent an embassy to the Vatican for which otherwise there would have been no occasion because of the small number of English Catholics. They explained to the Curia that they regarded this arrangement above all as only temporary as at the time nothing else was possible, since a permanent representation could only be arranged by a special statute and the introduction of such a one in parliament could not be brought about at once, but assurance was given that this would be attended to as soon as possible and the diplomatic representation at the Vatican would be confirmed as a permanent arrangement. On this assumption the British ambassador was received at the Vatican. But when an inquiry arose in the lower house how matters stood with regard to this embassy the government emphasized only its exclusively temporary character.

The Curia would not have needed this proof of double dealing in order to know how she stands with England. As a matter of principle she lays little value on a practice wheich appears only in emergencies, like a person with the toothache who runs to the dentist to have it pulled. The important thing to her is not that the Pope be appealed to on the demand of the secular government,

but that he be legally and unalterably recognized as head of the church, and not only in his authority over religious matters but also in his influence on the entire spiritual and moral life, including politics. That after former experiences the Curia condescended to receive the official advances of England gave rise to a certain amount of surprise even in Vatican circles. But the reason lay elsewhere than in Great Britain. The Pope hoped by British influence to move the French republic to repeal the laws against monastic orders, but in this hope he was deceived. No power in the world can deprive the radicals who now rule in France of their ecclesiastical booty. The disillusionment came very soon and made England even less sympathetic to the Vatican than it would otherwise have been.

One might suppose that a country whose institutions allow free sway to ecclesiastical matters would be neither especially comforting to the Curia nor especially repugnant to it. But as a matter of fact even apart from the bitter feelings which have arisen in war-time the relations even in time of peace gave occasion less for sympathy than repulsion. The English High Church, which as an organized ecclesiastical power is constructed too much like the Catholic not to be regarded by her as a competitor, is more sharply opposed to the Curia than for instance is Protestantism in Germany. But above all the Pope relies upon the preliminary condition that he be recognized as the ecclesiastical head with all the religious and political consequences, and this recognition England has hitherto refused and can hardly bring into harmony with her institutions. Thus it might appear as if we had a strict *non possumus,* but this is not the case. There is still room enough to fit the interests on both sides to each other according to the altered circumstances. And here the English government has hit upon the way most characteristic for her modes of thought to give the Pope to understand that she is ready to make herself answerable for the grave deficit which the world war has caused in the revenue of the Vatican. She calculates the extraordinary circumstances and corresponding difficulties at a figure higher than any that ever before came at one time into St. Peter's coffers, so high that in former times the very name of the cypher was unfamiliar.

We must grant unreservedly to the Britons that they are practical people and deal in big business. Nothing has yet been heard of any result of the proposal. At present one only learns that the unusual embassy of Great Britain to the Pope turns out to be less satisfactory than annoying.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

It is a strange dispensation that the vital questions of the Roman Catholic church which are at stake in the greatest world war of all times are closely linked for better or for worse with the fate of that particular central power which finds its culmination in a Protestant dynasty. The Curia is conscious of this fact. Even its anxiety for the house of Hapsburg, which it has so much at heart, results in the main wish that Germany will hold out, for it is only with German help that Austria-Hungary can stand as a dam against the bursting through of the Russians and so avert incalculable injury from the Roman Catholic church.

The Curia has not always looked upon Germany with such loving eyes as at present, but even in times of peace it has valued her as a power which maintains both church and state, as a land where the chief requirements of the Catholic church are fulfilled, namely that religion should not count as a merely private affair, but that it should penetrate the public life and be cultivated in the school, in the army, in the entire domain of the state. Neither France not Italy takes this stand, for in both countries the public right of religion—exactly that upon which the Curia lays the greatest emphasis—is denied. The repugnance to German Protestantism does not play the part in the Vatican which is usually ascribed to it; it is less intense than that against the English High Church and not to be compared with the antagonism in which Rome stands to Russian orthodoxy. The basis upon which the German empire can get along well with the Curia is broad enough to secure peace between state and church with good will on both sides.

ITALY.

A glance at Italy will show what foes Germany and the Curia have in common in other directions. There the freemasons have been declaring at their conventions for years that Germany is the arch foe to be demolished. The Hapsburg monarchy as a main support of the church is an eyesore to these liberals and it can only be upheld with the assistance of the German empire; so Germany too must be overcome if atheism, whose cause the lodges champion, is to be victorious. Of course this is more easily said than done. We do not yet see the Italian brother masons triumphing over the ruins of the German empire, but the Curia is doubtless aware of the injury they are doing the church in Italy. The war of spiritual arms which they have inscribed on their banner serves only as the

pretext of a gamin who grasps at any available advantages, provides his colleagues with offices and lucrative business for the state and the community, and would gain the upper hand in the country if the forces maintaining church and state did not combine to withstand him. This has long been the difficulty.

When Pius IX lost his ecclesiastical power he forbade his clericals to take part in political life. He proceeded from the conviction that the Italian kingdom would fall to pieces if it lost ecclesiastical support, and would make room for a restoration of the secular dominion of the Pope. But although the house of Savoy was constantly compelled to treat with the revolutionaries, it accomplished with its eminently practical statesmen such an excellent piece of work that the calculation of the Pope went astray. On the other hand the international prospects of restitution on the part of the ecclesiastical state disappeared. France, which was the chief consideration, fell into the hands of the enemies of the church within a decade, and even if it were to return to a monarchy that would be kindly disposed toward the church it would never again be in a condition to lift one finger toward the secular dominion of the Pope. The revolution in the neighboring country brought the Italian revolutionaries entirely under Parisian influence and made Italian freemasonry a branch of the French, which had fed well out of the state manger, and so was the object of much envy.

If the Italian kingdom should now enter the breach a new republic would arise in its place, a Cisalpine republic which France desires and England would not be unwilling to see, for Italy would then be stricken out of the number of great powers and would be removed to the rank merely of a Mediterranean power. In that case there could be no longer any question of the restoration of the church's political power.

So matters have turned out differently from what Pius IX expected forty-five years ago. The Curia understood that it could no longer count upon the fall of the kingdom, but instead had an interest in supporting and developing it in the interest of the church. The prohibition of political activity within the church was removed. At first to be sure the clericals limited themselves to favoring the choice of deputies in the moderate direction, and to putting them under obligation to themselves, but now the Catholic party, expressly constituted as a *Unione popolare,* has come to the front with a national program that in accordance with the will of Benedict XV puts their members under obligation to obey the king and in case of war to do their duty. In any event the possibility now

exists that if the Italian government makes an attack on Austria the Catholics at the command of the Pope himself must cooperate against the interest of the church, and even go to the war willingly since every popular league is torn asunder by national passions when once these have been inflamed. But for this there is no remedy, and therefore the more ardent is the wish of the Vatican that Italy may settle its differences with Austria.

This whole course of events shows how the interests of both Curia and kingdom have approached each other and to some extent become fused. Nevertheless the main question of the constitutional relation between the two still remains in dispute. If the papacy sees its hope for regaining its secular power dispelled, or at least indefinitely postponed, it can by no means be reconciled to the present state of things.

Italy is now avoiding the delicate point. Meanwhile between her interests and those of the Vatican a community of interest on another side comes to the fore. It would be bad for both if Russia should break through to the Adriatic with its Serbian vanguard. Blind supporters of the old Triple Alliance prefer to deny any danger from Russia, but careful Italians remember a familiar maxim coined for just such an occasion at the present: that if Austria did not exist it would have to be invented, because it is necessary for the European balance of power, and its disappearance would be a great disaster to Italy. It would at the same time be a disaster for the Catholic church as well—even much greater for her.

TAY TAY AND THE LEPER COLONY OF CULION.

BY A. M. REESE.

THE cutter *Busuanga* of the Philippine Bureau of Navigation had been chartered to go to Tay Tay on the Island of Palawan, to bring back to Manila the party of naturalists of the Bureau of Science who had been studying the little-known fauna and flora of that far-away island, the most westerly of the Philippine group.

After leaving the dock at Manila at sundown we steamed out of the bay, past the searchlights of Corregidor and the other forts which were sweeping entirely across the entrance to the bay in a way that would immediately expose any enemy that might attempt to slip by in the dark, and by nine o'clock we were headed in a southwesterly direction across the China Sea.

The next day we passed through winding passages along the Calamaines group where every hour brought to view new islands of the greatest beauty and of every size and shape. Upon one of these islands is a leper colony which we visited and found most interesting.

Early on the second morning we entered the harbor of the small but ancient village of Tay Tay (pronounced "tie tie" and spelled in various ways) on the eastern shore of Palawan. Not a white man lives in this inaccessible hamlet and it is seldom that one visits

VILLAGE OF TAY TAY FROM THE HARBOR.

it, as there is no regular communication of any sort with the outside world.

The village consists of a dozen or two native huts along the beach in a very pretty grove of coconut trees. Back of the village is a range of low mountains covered with tropical jungle. The main point of interest is a well constructed fort of stone, built on a small promontory that projects out into the bay. The walls of the fort are very massive and are surmounted at each of the four corners by a round watch tower. On its land side the fort is entered through a narrow gate that leads by a stone stairway to

the top of the promontory. On various parts of the walls are carvings and inscriptions showing that the different bastions were built at different times.

Within the fort and overlooking the walls is an old stone church whose roof has long since fallen in. Within the fort is also a large cement-lined, stone cistern to hold water in case of siege. The Spanish inscriptions on the walls show that the fort was begun about 1720, though the mission there was established about 1620. Lying about within the fort are a few large iron cannon that were doubtless used by the Spaniards in repulsing the attacks of the

TWO PROMINENT HOUSES IN TAY TAY.

Moro pirates. It was for a refuge from these pirates that this old fort was built nearly two hundred years ago in this tiny, reef-protected harbor, on an island that even now is unknown to a large majority of American people although it is a part of our territory.

On the shore, just back of the fort, is another stone church whose roof has also fallen in; and back of this church is a small thatched bell tower with two very good bells of harmonious tones hanging in it. How long these bells have been silent it is difficult to say, but no priest now remains to carry on the work begun nearly three hundred years ago by the brave padres from Spain, and not

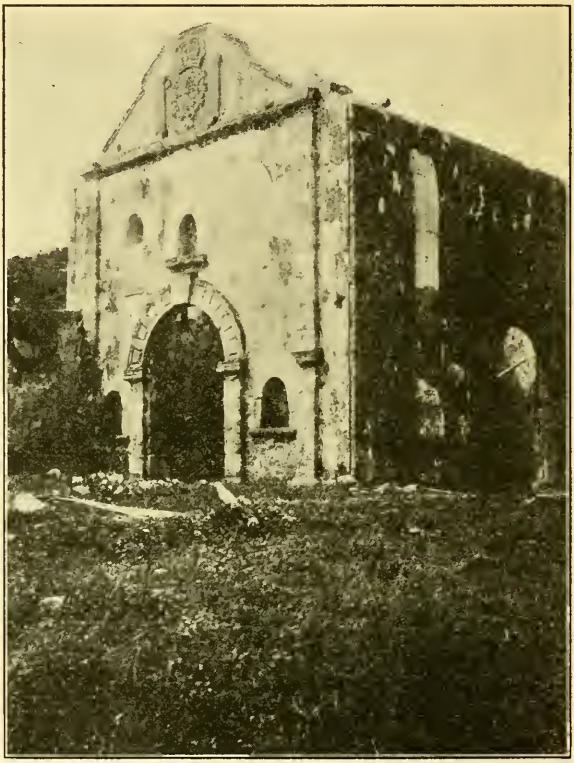
a Spaniard now lives in that almost forgotten village. But for the moss-covered and still massive gray walls of the fort and the crumbling ruins of the two churches one would never imagine that this tiny village of brown men had ever been inhabited by subjects of the kingdom of Spain.

In passing out of the harbor of Tay Tay we visited a small volcanic island of curiously weathered and water-worn limestone. Except for a narrow beach the sides of this island are almost perpendicular, and the cliffs are honeycombed with dozens of water-

THE SPANISH FORT AT TAY TAY.

worn caves. Many of these caves are of great beauty, resembling the interiors of stone churches; some extend far back into the dark interior of the island, others are lighted by openings at the top. Many of them are beautifully colored, and in an accessible region would doubtless be frequently visited by tourists, while in their isolated location it is possible that they had never before been visited by white men, unless in the old Spanish days. It is in these and in similar caves of this region that the natives obtain the edible birds' nests so highly prized by some, especially the Chinese. The natives are said to have claims on certain caves, and any one found stealing nests from another man's cave is supposedly dealt with as a thief.

These curious nests are built by swifts (swallows) against the walls of the dark caves much in the some way as is done by our common chimney swifts, except that instead of cementing a number of small twigs together by a kind of sticky secretion or saliva, the entire nest is made of the sticky substance which dries into a sort of gummy mass. This substance has but little taste, and why the wealthy Chinese should be willing to pay such enormous prices ($12 to $15 per pound) for it is hard to understand.



CHURCH WITHIN THE FORT.

It is said that the first nest the bird makes in the season brings the highest price because it is of pure material; this nest having been taken the bird builds another, but, having a diminished supply of the secretion, it introduces some foreign matter to help out, and this foreign matter, of course, makes the nest less valuable as food. A third nest may succeed the second, but it has still more foreign matter to still further diminish its value. That the collection of the

nests is attended with considerable danger is evident from the vertical, jagged walls of rock that must be scaled, either from below or above, to obtain them.

To those of us who lead busy lives in the centers of what we call twentieth-century civilization, life in a place so isolated from the rest of the world as Tay Tay seems impossible. Yet the inhabitants of this barrio are quite contented and fairly comfortable. They live "the simple life" indeed. While their resources are

BELL-TOWER OF THE CHURCH OUTSIDE OF THE FORT.

exceedingly limited their needs and desires are correspondingly few. They never suffer from cold and probably not often from heat or hunger; and they are not cursed with the ambitions that make so many of us dissatisfied with our lives.

It was early Sunday morning when the *Busuanga* dropped anchor in the harbor of Culion Island, one of the Calamaines group of the Philippines, and two or three of us were fortunate enough

to be invited to land, for an hour or so, to visit the leper colony that is said to be the largest in the world.

We were met at the tiny dock by the physician-in-charge, Dr. Clements, and by him escorted about the colony. This physician, who has spent long years in these eastern lands, gives the immediate impression of a man of quiet force, and the work he is doing in this seldom-visited island is as fine a piece of missionary work, though carried on by the government, as can probably be found anywhere.

Including the dock a few acres of the island are fenced off, and into this enclosure the lepers are forbidden to enter; otherwise they

ISLAND NEAR TAY TAY WHERE EDIBLE BIRDS' NESTS ARE FOUND.

have the run of the island, but are not allowed boats for fear they would be used as a means of escape.

Within the non-leprous enclosure are located the residences for the doctors and other officials; the living quarters, kitchens etc. (all of concrete) for the non-leprous laborers; and various shops and other such buildings.

At the "dead line" fence between this and the leprous part of the island a Chinaman has a small store where the lepers can buy various articles such as may be seen in a small country story. The

articles are in plain sight, but the leper is not allowed to touch anything until he has decided to take it; he then drops his money into a sterilizing solution and gets his purchase. A more modern store is being arranged by the government that will soon displace the *Chino*.

Passing this minute store we entered the gate of the "forbidden city," and, though there is no danger from merely breathing the same air with lepers, it gave us a rather strange sensation to be surrounded by thirty-four hundred poor wretches who in Biblical times would have been compelled to cry "Unclean! unclean!" We,

DOCTORS' RESIDENCES AND OTHER BUILDINGS OUTSIDE OF THE BALCONY FENCE.

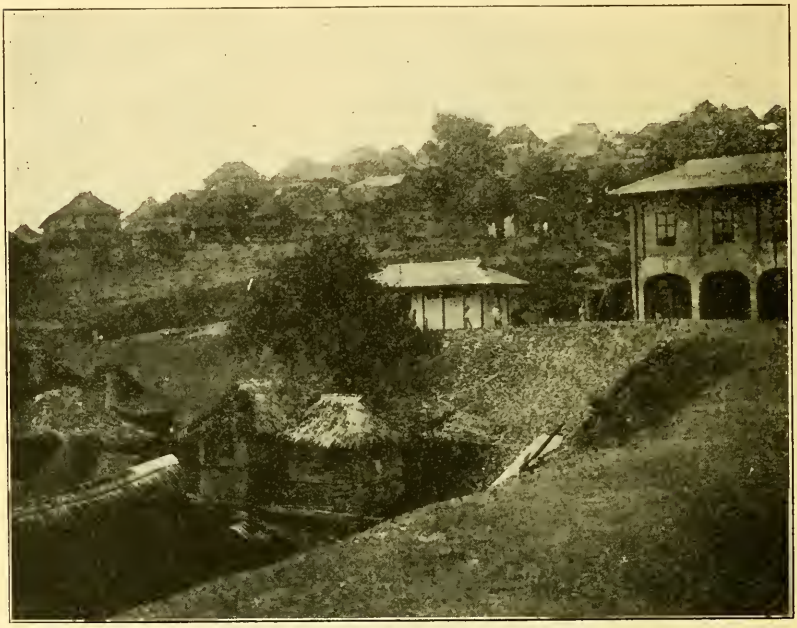
of course, did not touch anything within the colony, though the doctors do not hesitate to touch even the lepers themselves.

The colony proper is located on a small promontory looking eastward to the harbor and the Sulu Sea. At the end of this promontory is an old Spanish fort of stone with its enclosed church. Most of the Christian lepers are Roman Catholics, though there is a small Protestant church in the colony, in charge of a leprous native minister.

The lepers are brought from the various islands of the Philip-

pines to this colony so fast that it is with great difficulty that they can be accommodated; but all are made comfortable, in fact much more comfortable, in most cases, than they would ever have been at home. Except for homesickness, which cannot, of course, be avoided, they are quite happy, or as happy as any hopelessly sick people can be away from home and friends.

Fine concrete dormitories are supplied, but many prefer to build their own native houses of nipa palm and bamboo. A certain amount of help is given the lepers in building these houses on con-



CONCRETE DORMITORY AND NATIVE SHACKS.

dition that they first obtain a permit and build in the proper place in relation to the streets that have been laid out.

Besides the dormitories there are several concrete kitchen buildings where the lepers can prepare their food in comfort.

A plentiful supply of pure water is distributed by pipes to various convenient parts of the colony, and several concrete bath and wash houses are conveniently located. A concrete sewage system leads all sewage to the sea.

In this tropical climate it is, of course, unnecessary to provide any means of heating the buildings. At the time of our visit a large amusement pavilion was nearly completed where moving pic-

tures and other forms of entertainment will help pass the time for these poor wretches who have nothing to look forward to but a lingering death from a loathsome disease.

A large number of the patients who are in the incipient stages showed, to the ordinary observer, no effects of the disease. There were others who at first glance seemed perfectly normal, but on closer scrutiny revealed the absence of one or more toes or fingers. Others had horribly swollen ears; some had no nose left and were distressing objects; but it was not until we visited the various wards of the hospital that we saw leprosy in all of its horror. Here were

CONCRETE KITCHEN AND LAVATORY BUILDINGS AND NATIVE RESIDENCES.

dozens of cases so far advanced that they were no longer able to walk; they were lying on their cots waiting for death to come to their release. Some were so emaciated as to look almost like animated skeletons. Others, except for and sometimes in spite of their bandages, looked like horrid, partially decomposed cadavers. It was a sight to make one shudder and devoutly hope that a cure for this awful disease may soon be discovered. These extreme cases are cared for carefully and their last hours are made as comfortable as possible.

As we came out three Catholic sisters entered the women's ward to do what they could for the patients there.

Shortly before leaving the colony we were led to a small concrete structure (near the furnace where all combustible waste is burned), and as the door was opened we saw before us on a concrete slab four bodies so wasted and shrivelled that they seemed scarcely human. These were those who had at last been cured in the only way that this dread disease admits of cure. About forty per month are released by death, and those we saw were the last crop of the here *merciful* not "dread reaper."

At the back of the colony we met four lepers of incipient stages carrying a long box on their shoulders. Just as they came abreast of us they set it down, to rest themselves, and we saw that in the box was another "cured" leper. He was being carried to the cemetery not only "unhonored and unsung" but also "unwept": not a single friend nor relative followed his wasted body to its final resting place. After this pitiful spectacle, added to the horrors of the hospital wards, we were not sorry to turn our steps back toward the boat. As we passed through the fence at the "dead line," going *away* from the colony, we were compelled to wade through a shallow box of water containing a small percentage of carbolic acid which disinfected the soles of our shoes, the only things about us that had come in actual contact with the leper colony. In this way all visitors when they leave the colony are compelled, not to "shake its dust from their feet" but to wash its germs from their soles.

As an antidote for dissatisfaction with one's lot in life, or as an object lesson for the pessimists who claim there is no unselfishness in the world, or as an illustration of the value of the medical missionary, this little island, lying "somewhere east of Suez" between the Sulu and the China Seas, is not easily surpassed.

THE MISSING LOG-BOOK OF ST. PETER'S MISSIONARY JOURNEYS.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

LONG ago it was finely and indeed plausibly suggested that the Odyssey represented the log-book of some ancient Greek merchant captain. And it is by no means improbable that Homer, with his knowledge of the sea and his passion for it, was a sailor himself or a seafaring traveler and explorer, who wove into his wonderful epic the adventures of his hero at a time when legend and history

were one and the borderland between fact and fancy was peopled with strange imaginations and the two worlds overlapped each other. The visible and the invisible, the possible and the impossible, were not sharply divided then, and anything or everything might happen at a moment's notice. Inconsistencies and incongruities would not be noticed. As a matter of fact all old histories and myths, and no less all sacred books, abounded in flagrant contradictions. But logic was undreamed of, and poetry in art and science reigned supreme. If a tale was pretty and pleasing, if a marvel only stirred the mind or aroused the emotions of awe and admiration, it soon found a public and a permanency, and went from land to land, acquiring fresh embroidery as it passed. No one criticised, no one objected. Pity or fear or the sense of beauty was touched, and the inventions found a home in the hearts of men, by the marauder's camp fire and the shepherd's tent and at the hearth of the lowliest farmstead. There were giants in those days, but the thoughts of men were the thoughts of children.

Now, as every one can see for himself, the Acts of the Apostles, while being records of the early church, are to a great extent a log-book of St. Paul's missionary travels through the Greco-Roman world. Were these cut out of the book little would remain —it would resemble the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. In the Acts, as we have the chronicle, there is no real end apparent. It may fairly be conjectured that Luke intended to write a third book and give us some account of St. Peter's wanderings and evangelization.

Even from the beginning we find traces of various parties in the Christian communities. There was, we are expressly told, a Cephas party and a Pauline party, and even a Christ party, to say nothing of Apollos, but the Pauline party seems to have been much the strongest and most influential. They may have gone so far as to suppress any published account of St. Peter's missionary journeys and activities. We know that the two apostles had their differences, and St. Paul's more aggressive and enterprising character naturally inspired more enthusiasm and attracted a larger body of admirers and followers. In the Acts it is clear enough that the call for a crusade to the Gentiles was given not to St. Paul but to St. Peter. And none can have failed to wonder why the latter afterward disappeared from prominent notice, and how it was that the former "cuckooed" his rival out of his appointed office. St. Paul was no doubt the best speaker and the best writer, and carried all before him with his soul of fire and his infectious zeal.

Unfortunately, as Sir W. Ramsay has remarked, "The earliest Christians wrote little or nothing." Yet we may well believe that St. Peter wrote many more epistles than the first, of which alone we can be sure. Were these destroyed by the more vigorous and combative Paulinists? To say the least, it looks strange, and we may almost think startling, that after the consecration of his charge to the Gentiles and the vivid drama of his experience with Cornelius St. Peter simply drops out of the story and subsides into obscurity and insignificance, eclipsed by the exploits of St. Paul and silenced by the noisy clamor of the Paul party. In one chapter, the tenth, St. Peter is everything and from that point he becomes practically nothing.

And yet here and there we get bright glimpses of his energetic presence and power in the mission field. Even before his call, we discover him busily at work, Acts ix. 32, "And it came to pass, as *Peter passed through all quarters,* he came down also to the Saints which dwelt at Lydda," and we know he was intimate with the Hellenistic Jews. In the famous scene recorded in Acts xv., St. Peter himself in so many words claims with all boldness the apostleship to the Gentiles. He evidently smarted under the ascendancy of St. Paul and resented his somewhat selfish predominance. "Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago *God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel and believe.*"

Anyhow we must all recognize here the presence of a problem which remains to be solved, and urgently demands explanation. Hitherto it has been entirely ignored and theologians have been more enamored of the *otium* than the *odium theologicum*, by a singular laziness in leaving a difficult question severely alone. The old proverb told us to let the sleeping dogs lie, but not the sleeping dogma "lie."

We gather little help from "The Preaching and Doctrine of Peter," "The Revelation of Peter," and the legends contained in the "Recognitions of Clement." Tradition alone can help us, though we may fairly read between the lines of Acts and expand hints thrown out here and there. Whatever we may think of the Pseudepigraphical literature, it seems absolutely certain that the wildest documents must possess a core of truth. Error can only crystallize round a nucleus of fact, and it is fact that keeps it alive, so that it sometimes appears almost imperishable. As the water-drop condenses out of mist and forms round a particle of dust—to which indeed, as Tyndall taught us, we owe all the beauty of our blue sky—

St. Paul was the stormy petrel of the infant church, pugnacious, it may be with a touch of epilepsy that so often accompanies genius and which eugenics would soon stamp out if ever carried into effect, and perhaps a little overbearing and unscrupulous in his missionary methods. But, if we may credit Jerome and Eusebius, St. Peter played even a larger part than St. Paul in the establishment and extension of Christianity at first, though his movements may have been considerably hampered by the companionship of his wife. Though even before his call to the Gentiles, he must have entertained very liberal views, as we know he was lodging for a time with Simon the tanner—that is to say, a man who conducted an unclean trade.

The date of the Acts is somewhere about 62 A. D. So the incidents related there must have been fresh in Luke's mind and memory, though he was plainly obsessed by the masterful personality of St. Paul. And if the author ever wrote a third book, it must have been suppressed at once by the strenuous Paulinists, that the more popular presentation of Christianity, which absorbed so much of the dearly loved mysticism from the East, might reign without a rival. But it is just possible that some day the explorer's pick and spade may unearth a lost Petrine Gospel or missionary log-book in the treasure house of Egypt and the receptive and retentive Fayum.

St. Paul once seems to have felt some conscientious scruples in Romans xv. 30: "Yea, so have I striven to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, *lest I should build upon another man's foundation.*" This can only refer to St. Peter's previous work in Rome, which was in the summer of 42 A. D. when he paid his first visit to the imperial city. In his earliest recorded speech at the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Pentecost feast, he addressed "strangers of Rome" among many others, and there were probably some from the synagogue of the Libertines. His friendship with Cornelius and the soldiers of the *cohors Italica* must have given him a leverage for dealing with men from the governing center of the empire, and the liberty conferred by great benefits bestowed, almost equal to the advantages of his rival's Roman citizenship or freedom. Travelers, merchants, the *Graeculus esuriens,* the Stoic and Cynic itinerant philosophers, might easily have carried the news of the conversion of a Roman officer to the metropolis. It must even then have made something of a sensation at any rate among the Jews resident there, before the decree of Claudius. But when we consider how well the empire was policed and the great trade routes

patrolled by the central authorities, and how, though ages before the quick transit we now enjoy, vital communications were maintained by the imperial road-builders all over the length and breadth of vast regions and different continents, we may feel assured that the Gospel of Christianity was naturally introduced early into Rome. We need not for a moment suppose that St. Peter was the foremost to bring the good news. He found the rudiments of a church there on his first visit. St. Mark's Gospel should have been written about 44-45 A. D. And the earlier epistles of St. Paul throw little or no light on St. Peter's missionary movements. Nor does it appear likely that the document "2" if ever recovered *in extenso,* will assist our inquiries. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the second Gospel dates from Rome.

St. Paul, the supplanter, bulks so preponderantly in our oldest documents and overshadows every one else, though at the commencement of the Acts it is all St. Peter. He seems to have left Rome with Mark during the year 45, and was present at Jerusalem in the spring of 46. His imprisonment and the persecution of Herod Agrippa must have been a crisis in the apostle's life. Subsequently he made Antioch the center of his evangelistic work and may have founded the church there and even been its bishop. From this city, as a base of operations, he appears to have itinerated and preached to the Diaspora in Asia Minor. He may have visited Mesopotamia in the east, and Cappadocia and Pontus in the north, between 47 and 54 A. D. Tradition tells us that the apostle stayed twelve years in Jerusalem, and then they divided the Greco-Roman world among them. And to St. Peter Rome would naturally and inevitably fall, as he held a sort of acknowledged primacy. St. Peter and Barnabas were at Corinth later in 54, and he was co-founder with St. Paul of the church there. It is a pity our only letters to this lively and interesting city were by the latter. St. Peter may have written some also. Later on, he and Barnabas were in Italy and at Rome, 55-56, the second visit. How long he remained there we cannot pretend to say. But his third and last visit appears to have taken place in 63-65, his first epistle was probably written in 65, and his martyrdom took place in the summer of the same year.

We are beginning to learn now the importance of church tradition in general and local tradition in particular, as Mr. Edmundson has so convincingly shown in his Bampton lectures, the work of a true scholar with the insight of an historian and the grasp of a theologian, and in all respects an admirable and masterly book.

Our materials for the reconstruction of St. Peter, who never praised himself as St. Paul did, and for the recovery of his missionary log-book or itinerarium, are few indeed, but we can see at a glance that his was an active life, as energetic as his rival's and as fruitful. His wife also must have been equally zealous, if sometimes in hours of peril an encumbrance, and inspired with the same martyr spirit, or the apostle would certainly not have taken her about with him. In spite of only too few outstanding landmarks in his life there are no doubt terrible blanks between, which provoke speculation and invite conjecture. Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Rome, perhaps Pamphylia, all have secrets to betray, and the catacombs are an unexhausted and inexhaustible mine for the seeker of hints. We want a theologian just now, like the philosopher Crates, who was called the "Door-opener." And we cannot in this sense agree with Hegel that "there is nothing behind the curtain other than that which is in front of it."

The beautiful story worked out at length in a great novel recurs to the mind at this point. We often find ourselves addressing the elusive missionary apostle in the words addressed to him by Christ—*Quo vadis?* "Whither didst thou go, and where are there abiding traces of thy pilgrim feet?" It is not beyond the bonds of possibility that even to-day there exist somewhere, tenaciously handed down from father to son through the intervening centuries, oral records of St. Peter's presence and teaching in the East. For the East has a long memory and a strong memory, and to it a thousand years are but a single day. The impression created by the apostle must have been tremendous from what we read in the fifth chapter of the Acts: "Insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them." Such an immense personality must have left living traces, and words that were new worlds in their creative force to multitudes of hearers. *Littera scripta manet,* we say now, but in the retentive East ever awake from its sleep to fresh mysteries and fresh revelations, it would be equally true to say *Littera dicta manet.*

We have reason to believe that St. Paul, though a saint, like many saints was a very quarrelsome man and brooked no rival near his throne. He could not agree with Barnabas: "And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other." And we know from St. Paul's own confession, that there was a breach or sad difference (and not of his making) which separated him from St. Peter also. We ought to face the

facts honestly. In spite of his undoubted inspiration, and the fact that he stands forth in history as one of the greatest figures that ever lived, St. Paul had the defects of his grand qualities, a temper that refused all opposition and crushed all resistance with an indomitable will. He was not a man to be lightly crossed or contradicted. St. Peter was too much like him, impulsive and fiery, for them ever to be lasting friends or co-workers in the mission field. Each naturally preferred his own way and took it at all costs.

All his life St. Peter must have felt that the charge committed expressly to him in the call of Cornelius and the conversion of the Gentiles was to a considerable extent stolen from him or impaired by the egotistic pretensions of St. Paul who was not even one of the twelve apostles and who therefore could never possess the authentic qualifications that were his—the gifts and graces of the Rock man—and stood on a lower level than that of the "pillars." Notwithstanding his frequent self-depreciation, the "chief of sinners" did not always appear particularly modest. "For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles." Indeed 2 Cor. xii is rather painful reading, and also the twelfth chapter of the same epistle. Though he was "the least of the apostles," and "less than the least of all saints," he unquestionably magnified his office and also himself again and again. He blew the trumpet aloud in Sion and all over the Gentile world, but he took good care that every one should know who blew it. It is perfectly impossible to exaggerate the merits of this colossal man, one of the holiest and one of the most enthusiastic missionaries and pioneers that ever lived. But we dare not allow ourselves to ignore his faults, which were many and grave.

St. Paul was practically the founder of Christianity, while Christ himself was Christianity. But for better or worse, and sometimes for the worse, our religion has taken the mould impressed upon it by this giant in the faith. Brought up in the rabbinical schools and steeped in the Jewish mode of interpretation, soaked in the atmosphere of the old mystery religions and influenced beyond doubt, as we have shown elsewhere, by the Stoic philosophy, St. Paul gave a fatal curve to the message of the cross, and his teaching or construction of the Gospel—we had almost said his perversion—lies like a fatal shadow, as does that of St. Augustine, on the church in every land. If we only had the corrective and complement in St. Peter's Gospel in other epistles that have been perhaps irretrievably lost, or in his missing log-book of missionary

journeys, we should be all the richer and the world would be all the wiser.

The change in St. Peter's life after the crucifixion is indeed marvelous. The St. Peter before that cosmic crisis and the St. Peter after seem separated *toto coelo*. The perfervid, precipitate, rash and even reckless fanatic with his appeal to the sword, by that one little look of his Master was transformed into a sober and temperate and yet fearless professor of the faith and protagonist of the cross after the outpouring of the Pentecostal baptism of fire. He might indeed have received a double portion of the Spirit, if we may judge from his recorded words and splendid actions and the dominant part he took in the government of the infant community. He spoke, he worked, with the weight of an authority which St. Paul never commanded. He had sinned, and he had repented and been forgiven. The betrayal, the denial, so public and so repeated, had under the blessing of the divine pardon produced a glorious reaction and called a new world of spiritual possibilities into being. He had proved a second Judas. But in the fires of remorse he returned to his old grand confession stage, and mounted on his dead self the very highest things. Forgiven greatly, greatly did he love, and greatly did he serve for the remainder of his life. The martyr's spirit dormant in him from the first awoke at last, transforming the clay to gold, the mud to marble, and sending him forth as the leading captain of the cross with words that burned and shone. He moved along the road of illumination, with his eye forever on the vision and his face set toward heaven. The message of mercy, which he carried, uplifted him as well as ten thousands of converts. For he had been tried in the furnace as St. Paul never was, and his face bore the traces of his fiery ordeal. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

St. Paul's agonies and raptures, the passionate experiences of the advanced mystic, find no counterpart in the sublime sanity of St. Peter's more inspired utterances. And though of course we cannot accept his second epistle, we feel the writer must have recognized the difference between the two evangelists. "As our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you—as also in all his epistles, in which are some things hard to be understood." For no doubt St. Paul had never even harmonized the various strands of his doctrines, if indeed he always

understood himself what he said. It is plain that the final St. Peter was a far more modest and humble person than the impetuous man of Tarsus—they might almost have exchanged characters. We might venture to think that 1 Peter v. 3 was meant to be a quiet allusion to the autocratic egotism of his rival and fellow laborer. "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock."

St. Paul never seemed to forget himself; he was perpetually pushing to the front and (though of course unconsciously) advertising himself and his sufferings. Never man endured so much misery as he did—he positively died daily. The churches must have grown rather tired of his endless lamentations and intolerable woes. St. Peter merely said, "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you. But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings."

PRO-ALLY LITERATURE.

BY THE EDITOR.

BEFORE me lies a pamphlet entitled *Germans in America* by Lucius B. Swift of the Indianapolis Bar. It is a paper read before the Indianapolis Literary Club, the first edition of which amounted to 5000, and we have now the second edition of 10,000. The purpose of the brochure is to increase the tension that pro-British interests have undertaken to produce between the United States and Germany, emphasis being laid on the reproach made to the hyphenated Americans for sympathizing with the Huns of Europe.

It is difficult to say whether the author's ignorance is greater than the malevolence with which he treats his subject or *vice versa,* perhaps both are equal. The innumerable errors and misrepresentations may be unintentional, but they are certainly displayed with a spitefulness which is most regrettable and can do no good whatever.

In his address Mr. Swift represents Germany as a land that stands for autocracy, and the Anglo-Saxondom of England as the stronghold of liberty. Here is a sample of the author's knowledge of Prussian history:

"The Teutonic Knights having conquered Prussia, became in-

subordinate and unruly, and a succeeding Hohenzollern of Brandenburg was given the job by a German emperor of bringing them to reason, which he did in a thoroughly Hohenzollern manner, with fire and sword. He was now Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia. These two provinces not originally German territory at all, but colonized by Germans, who mixed much Slavic blood, were combined into the kingdom of Prussia. The rule has always been and is to-day autocratic."

Every child who has studied German history in school knows that the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire had nothing to do with the German knights in Prussia. The knights elected the leaders of their order, and the last grand master of the order, a member of the Hohenzollern family, had been elected by his fellows. His knights did not become insubordinate and unruly, but on the contrary they ceased to be dangerous; they began to die out. The fact was that times had changed; the Middle Ages had passed and the era of the crusaders was gone forever. The order had recruited itself from the pious Christian aristocracy of the Fatherland, and the other orders, the Templars and Knights of St. John, had disappeared. The old members of the German knights died one by one and new ones did not present themselves to fill the gaps thus made. So the last master, a Hohenzollern, undertook a journey to the Fatherland to see why the German order had been forgotten. When he reached Germany, he heard of the Reformation and of the new spirit that had come over the world; he soon realized that the crusaders and knights errant had become out of date. The grand master of the venerable order became desperate: What was to be done? The advice given was "There is but one man who can help you, that is Luther." So he went to Wittenberg and saw the Reformer, Dr. Martin Luther. The result was the transformation of the order into a modern state. The grand master of the order became the head of the government and his followers changed from a band of crusaders into secular knights. No fire and sword was necessary, for the practical result was a number of merry nuptials. The grand master of the order and his celibate knights no longer felt themselves bound by their vows and so married.

History is not so bloody as Mr. Swift would make us believe, and the union between Prussia and Brandenburg came about through the fact that the line of Prussion Hohenzollern died out and their territory fell by inheritance in the most peaceful way to the elder line of Hohenzollern, represented by Frederick William, in history called the Great Elector of Brandenburg.

It is not worth while refuting all the misstatements of Mr. Swift. This one instance may be sufficient.

In contrast to the history of Prussia, English and American history are extolled, and our author says:

"There is in the German line no Magna Charta, no John Hampden, no Oliver Cromwell, no axe in the hands of the people descending on the neck of a traitor king, no king driven from his throne for betraying his trust, no Bill of Rights, no Declaration of Independence, no Minute Man, no Liberty Bell, no George Washington, no Abraham Lincoln. Of all these marks blazed during the centuries Germans in America to-day are apparently oblivious."

Is it really a disgrace that the Germans were not regicides? That no Hohenzollern made himself enough hated to be officially beheaded? Our author does not seem to know what the Magna Charta really stands for in history. The Magna Charta expresses the discontent of some nobles, and does not contain anything of a government of the people, for the people and by the people, but it sounds well to quote it as if it were a great accomplishment.

The coat of arms of the Lord Mayor of the City of London bears a dagger in remembrance of his method of dealing with Wat Tyler, the leader of the oppressed peasants. This assassination was officially approved by the king. That is the reverse of a Magna Charta, and it is characteristic of the English government that assassination for the sake of the ruling party is not considered a criminal act. Think of Findlay and Sir Roger Casement.

England is not the home of the Saxons, and its original inhabitants were not oppressed by the Anglo-Saxons but exterminated. It is true that Prussia was not German territory, but its Slavic population, the Mazurs, are yet living and have preserved their language to this day. In Brandenburg the people have become assimilated to German habits and culture; many Slavic names still survive in the aristocratic families of the country.

The home of the Anglo-Saxons was in northern Germany; the truth is that they brought thence their love of liberty which they developed in their own way. Mr. Swift recognizes it, but he believes that the Germans of Germany lost their liberty. He says:

"Yet we started even. If we go back to the Germans in the German forests the lines meet; for German tribes were self-governing. 'No man dictates to the assembly,' says Tacitus: 'he may persuade, but cannot command.' The Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes and the Frisians, uncontaminated by Rome, carried into England the ancient German freedom, the town moot, the hundred moot, the

folk moot. They swept Roman England free of inhabitants and of Christianity. When the movement was completed a nation of Germans occupied England, the only German nation resulting from the migration of the barbarians. They were pagans and Odin was their god. These were our forefathers. Out of this pagan German nation has come the English-speaking race of to-day. Although a multitude of times crushed to earth, they never forgot their republican institutions, their mass township meetings, their delegate meetings, and never lost their capacity to transact public business. War brought the king, but the king could not shake off the witenagemote, the predecessor of parliament. In their meetings the kicker kicked out his kick; there the officers, even the king, were called to account; there for centuries was carried on the stubborn fight of the people against oppression. These facts to-day apparently make no impression upon Germans in America. It is not necessary to trace how or when the Germans in Germany lost their liberties; they lost them."

It is not worth while to enter into the mazes of a confusion which seems to be intentional. Of further misrepresentations we will mention only one or two. If Bismarck when asked whether he would retain his office at the death of William I is represented to have answered that "he would on two conditions, the first of which was 'no parliamentary government,'" this is a positive error. In Bismarck's time the parliamentary government was not abolished, but when he molded the German constitution he introduced parliamentary government on manhood suffrage instead of according to the class system in use in the state constitutions, and Mr. Swift may know that manhood suffrage does not as yet exist in England.

I may be permitted to point out that the author's misrepresentation concerning the so-called conflict between King William I of Prussia and the Prussian legislature is astonishing. Mr. Swift describes it as follows:

"In 1861 Bismarck and the king wanted to enlarge the army but the legislature refused the money. They spent the money just the same, saying that the legislature by refusing to vote necessary supplies had laid down its functions and the king must take over the responsibilities that they declined to exercise. Having defied the constitution for years and spent the money, in 1866, after the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein and the victory over Austria, the speech from the throne announced, says Bismarck, 'that the representatives of the country were to proceed to an *ex post facto* approval of the administration carried on without appropriation act.' The legislature obeyed the order almost with gratitude for the opportunity. An

Anglo-Saxon legislature would have shaken the king over hell-fire, would have brought him to his knees in repentance, would have made him reaffirm every declaration of Anglo-Saxon freedom from Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights before granting forgiveness."

If Mr. Swift had happened to know the real facts he would be more careful in explaining why King William felt it his duty to enlarge the army in 1861. King William at that time saw the need of Prussia's preparedness because Prussia was endangered and faced the difficulty of serious conflicts which meant war. Either Prussia or Austria had to be the leader of Germany and the sword alone could decide. He recognized the necessity of preparedness which the delegates in the Prussian parliament did not understand. He foresaw the danger, recognized his duty to prepare his country for war, and seeing that the *Landtag* was opposed to the plans which with his better insight he knew to be indispensable, he had an interview with Bismarck and wanted to resign. But Bismarck tore up the resignation of the king which the latter had handed him and said, "A Prussian king does not resign," and then pointed out to him that the crisis was inevitable and the question was whether or not he would act according to his conviction. His duty was to do the best he could in the interest of the country, even if opposed by the representatives in the *Landtag*. Bismarck added, "I am willing to risk my life, and if you need me I will undertake the task for you."

That was the beginning of Bismarck's greatness. When the plan of William I proved to be right, when the wars had come and Prussian preparedness did its work, Bismarck did not stand up and declare, "We were right after all and we had better abolish the constitutional government." On the contrary, though history had justified the king's policy, he stepped before the *Landtag* and demanded "indemnity" for the breach of the constitution, and the *Landtag* freely and without opposition granted the indemnity. There was no threat nor any system of an autocratic influence, but an unequivocal recognition of the constitution.

What would William I have done if he had been an English king, or what should he have done in Mr. Swift's opinion? Would or should he have crawled before Parliament and said: "I obey your behests although I am positively convinced that you are wrong?" Should he have been cowardly enough to act against his own conviction? Should his conscience have been a negligible factor? On the other hand, if an English king had broken the constitution under the same conditions, would the English parliament

have forced him to his knees and humiliated the honor of their king who had proved wiser than the wise legislators? I hope the English parliament would have acted more sensibly than in the way proposed by Mr. Swift.

We are told that the Germans have lost their liberties, but the truth is that in Germany there is more personal liberty than in either Great Britain or America, and the enforcement of law and order is handled with more discretion and greater respect for personal liberty there than either in England or in the United States. This is well known to people who know the three countries, but pro-British people in the United States like to misrepresent facts.

The truth is that the emperor of Germany is not a czar nor does the aristocracy exercise any undue influence. Royalty in Germany stands for the old traditional institution of folk kingship. Among the Latin peoples the king was a ruler, the Roman name of the king was *rex,* but in Teutonic countries the king was the father. He was the authority to whom they looked as the representative of the whole people, of all that were akin, and so he was called "king," or *König,* the representative of the whole tribe, standing as their father or elder brother. The etymology of the word indicates that the main ideal of kingship among the Saxons and all the Teutonic races was very different from the Latin idea of the ruler of the people. The word "queen" was derived from the same root, which is noticed also in another spelling of the word, *quean,* meaning "woman." It means the woman or mother of the people, of all who belong to the tribe, who are kin.

As is known to all who know German conditions, the present emperor is still the folk-king in the old pre-historic sense, the father of the country; and his sovereignty has proved to be a modern development of this old traditional idea of the king as the father of the fatherland. There is no hatred between him and his people, for he is not a tyrant or oppressor of the people's liberty. On the contrary, he is looked up to as the defender of their rights and privileges, and he is this to all people, to those of old-fashioned conservative views, to the liberals, and even to the extreme radicals.

There is a little story which was published in several German papers which illustrates this truth, so little recognized in America. One of the Social Democratic delegates visited Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg. When the emperor heard of the presence of this extremist he said to the chancellor, "I should like to see him too," and the man was called back. While he was walking through the garden he was stopped by a sentinel who having received a hint that

everything was all right allowed the Social Democrat to go his way to meet the emperor. The latter had noticed the little scene and when his visitor turned after the conversation was over, the emperor called him back once more and said: "It may interest you to know on what kind of guards I have to rely for the protection of my person." When the delegate showed his perplexity in trying to understand what the Kaiser meant, the latter remarked: "All these sentinels whom you see throughout the garden are Social Democrats."

The truth is that every one in the German empire has a right to hold his own views and he may elect a conservative representative or a Social Democrat, but with all the radicalism of the Social Democrats the king might walk into one of their assemblies and they would hail him without exception. He would not be in the slightest personal danger. They might express their preferences for the introduction of socialistic principles into the laws or even for the introduction of a democracy as the best form of government, but they would feel that personally the emperor stands in the place of the representative of the nation, to whom they look up as children to their father. A nation needs a department which is commonly called the government or the administration, and it is pretty indifferent whether we call the man at the head of it *Kaiser* or *President.* The history of Germany has adopted the former title under the influence of contact with Rome and a deep-felt respect shown for Christianity. That the dignity of a Kaiser, or chief of the administration should be hereditary, or in other words that a family should be chosen to furnish the incumbants of this office is a secondary matter which may have its drawbacks but is not without good features. It renders the election campaign unnecessary and makes it possible that a man may be educated for his high duties so as to raise him above the very suspicion of using political intrigues to attain what the the law of the country gives him as his birthright—an advantage which has in many respects worked well and has produced men who though born to a throne have done their governmental work in a most outspoken way as "first servants of the state."

This is a truth which is well recognized all through Germany, even in the circles of those who are professed Social Democrats and would prefer to have a republican form of government.

After all, the difference between a republic and a monarchy is not so important as is generally represented in republican states. The liberty of the people is not conditioned by the form of govern-

ment, but by the people themselves and the application of the laws. We Americans are in the habit of misrepresenting all monarchical governments with the possible exception of the English government, which is erroneously said to be like a democracy. But the truth is, there is more liberty, more independence, more freedom in Germany than in England, and the ideal of liberty has come down to us from ancient Germany. It is only in the misguided mentality of the present war that we are blind to facts and distort history in favor of our own and of British prejudices.

Another lecture by the same author is entitled *America's Debt to England.* He claims that our schoolchildren are taught that the foundations of liberty are based upon the revolution; they ought to know that "the fathers fought for the rights of Englishmen and won. They not only secured to us imperishable blessings, but they freed every English colony from a selfish colonial policy." Our author does not forget that Saxon freedom is a Teutonic heirloom. He says: "No youth should leave school without knowing that our Anglo-Saxon forefathers carried representative government from the forests of Germany into England."

The principle of a judgment by peers is an old Germanic law. When our author says "the germ of the jury appeared in France" he ought to have said in "the institution of the Franks," which is a little different, for it existed before France originated. Our author forgets to point out that Germany to-day is in many respects freer than the United States, and the laws by which it is administered are more than in England or any English-speaking nation a product of the people's will in a regular course of parliamentary methods and according to a logical system of acknowledging the inalienable rights of all people. There are more important and broader documents in the history of the European continent than the Magna Charta which contained little more of the spirit of liberty than did the claim of the southern slaveholders for the liberty to keep slaves, in which England supported them. Would it not be better to speak out bluntly that the Saxons are a Teutonic tribe and claim that they originated somewhere else and that the American revolution was not directed against England, but that England made this revolution against the Kaiser who threatend to take possession of the country by his Hessian soldiers who came here under the sly pretext of having been imported by the English government?

Mr. Swift's case is not an exception; it is typical of pro-British literature. Most of the essays and books that take the British side

in the present war betray gross ignorance and exhibit a curious bitterness toward Germany.

There is a common belief that truth will always prevail *in the end*, that lies have short legs; but *the end* is sometimes far away, and misrepresentation is as efficient as picric-acid bombs. They are not good weapons and may be efficient for a while only, but they are very powerful and their greatest drawback consists in the fact that they are mostly used by those whose cause is both indefensible and hopeless. Are we justified in drawing a conclusion from the obvious fact that pro-British literature (with very few, but no glaring, exceptions) is extremely one-sided, lacking in logic, based upon error and involving lamentable ignorance? Read the wild denunciations of the German cause, and Horace will speak out of the recollection of your school days:

"Difficile est satiram non scribere."
('Tis hard not to become satirical.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE FIRST TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY EMIL BAENSCH.

Whenever good fortune brings within your view a ten-dollar bill, one of those yellow-backed ones called a Gold Certificate, take a good look at it. You will find on it the likeness of a gentleman of the old school, with these words underneath: "Michael Hillegas, First Treasurer of the U. S."

He was born in Philadelphia whither his father had emigrated in 1724 from near Heidelberg, in Germany. Pennsylvania was the Mecca of German emigration in the eighteenth century, as many as 12,000 arriving in one year. The elder Hillegas became one of the merchant princes in the city, and his prominence, as well as his inclination, rendered him a friendly adviser and helpful guide to the newcomers.

His death in 1749 transferred the management of his business to his son, then barely twenty-one years of age. An administrator's bond of forty thousand pounds and an inventory of personal property covering fifteen pages of the probate records, attest the value and extent of the estate. This was considerably increased under the skilful and energetic direction of the son. He acquired substantial interests in sugar refineries, iron forges, land companies, fishing companies, etc. He was one of the organizers of the well-known Lehigh Coal Company and was a charter member of the Bank of North America, still one of our strong financial institutions.

Like the father, the son became one of the leaders in the colony. In those days it was the custom to raise funds frequently for public purposes, even for the building of churches, by means of a lottery, and public confidence instinctively pointed to Hillegas as the proper manager. For ten years, from 1765

to 1775, he was a member of the provincial assembly, and an active and aggressive one. He was chairman of the important committees of public accounts and of taxation and was consulted in every move relating to the public finances.

When war was seen to be approaching he promptly enrolled in the militia, was placed on the Committee of Safety, and on the Commission to erect Fort Mifflin for the defense of the city. Saltpeter was a necessary material for warfare, and he was made chairman of the committee to procure a supply, and was also delegated to provide arms for the soldiers.

The finances of the young nation were at first in charge of a Board of Treasury, displaced in 1781 by a Superintendent of Finance, three years later by a Board of Commissioners, and in 1789 by the Treasury Department as at present constituted. Under each of these systems were the offices of Treasurer, Auditor and Controller, who were elected by Congress during the earlier years.

In July, 1775, Michael Hillegas was elected Treasurer and annually re-elected until the present constitution was adopted,—a period of fourteen years. His powers were gradually enlarged; he was authorized to borrow money and to issue and sign bills of credit; when the office of Treasurer of Loans was discontinued its duties were devolved upon him; when the Mint was established he was directed "to receive and take charge of all coin made by the Master Coiner."

His wealth enabled him to furnish the large bond required and to aid the public credit. His ability and business experience were a guarantee that the duties would be well performed. Proof of the faultless fulfilment of this guarantee is found in the fact that such men as Samuel Adams and Roger Sherman were among his warm supporters, and in the fact of his frequent re-elections, often by unanimous vote.

Thus from the very beginning, through the struggles of the Revolution, through the floundering of the Confederation, and until the nation was safely anchored under the Constitution, the official treasure of our people was intrusted to the care and guidance of this faithful and patriotic German-American. The first books he kept, a blotter, a journal, and a ledger, are now reverently preserved in the archives of the Treasury Department.

A few years after his retirement he was again drafted, serving as alderman of Philadelphia until his death in 1804. As such he was active in furthering the improvement and beautifying of what was then the capital of the nation. His leisure was devoted to educational and philanthropic matters, and the Pennsylvania Hospital is a landmark of his efforts. He left, surviving him, one son and four daughters, and his descendants are to be found among prominent families in the East, though the male line is extinguished and no one now living bears his name.

Hillegas was jovial and genial in temperament. He was expert with the flute and the violin, author of an "Easy Method for the Flute." John Adams writes of him: "He is a great musician, talks perpetually of the forte and piano, of Handel, and songs and tunes." Optimism and thrift breathe through the lines which he sent to his daughter, Henriette, on her marriage to Joseph Anthony of New York:

> "No trivial loss nor trivial gain despise,
> Mole-hills, if often heaped, to mountains rise;
> Weigh every small expense, and nothing waste,
> Farthings long saved amount to pounds at last."

AN EROS OF LATER GREECE.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York contains a beautiful bronze statue of Eros which dates from the Hellenistic period of Greek art. While not belonging to the strictly classical period this bronze is so typical of the traditional conception of the youthful deity that Professor Fox has chosen it for reproduction in his volume on Greek and Roman mythology (Vol. I of *The Mythology of All Races,* edited by Dr. Louis H. Gray and published by the Marshall Jones Company of Boston), and it is from this publication that we have taken it for the frontispiece of our present issue. The statue has been thus described by Miss G. M. A. Richter in her account of the *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*:

"He is springing forward, lightly poised on the toes of his right foot. The left arm is extended forward and holds the socket of a torch; the right is lowered and held obliquely from the body with fingers extended. He is nude and winged, the feathers of the wings being indicated on the front side by incised lines. His hair is curly and short, except for one tuft which is gathered about the center of the head and braided.

"This famous statue is one of the finest representations of Eros known. The artist has admirably succeeded in conveying the lightness and grace associated in our minds with the conception of Eros. Everything in the figure suggests rapid forward motion; but this is attained without sacrificing the perfect balance of all parts, so that the impression made is at the same time one of buoyancy and of restraint. The childlike character of the figure is brought out in the lithe, rounded limbs and the smiling, happy face."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

Krieg dem Kriege is the title of a collection of German poems by W. L. Rosenberg of Cleveland, Ohio. The author, in this little volume of 188 pages, dwells for the most part, though not altogether, on the subject of war, especially the present war, and the tendency of his sentiment is toward the cosmopolitan and the universally human. In one poem Sir Edward Grey is criticized. "England's 'Holy Duty'" is the satirical title of another. "The German People" is characterized as a nation that has been forced into the war, and which fights for liberty and the reestablishment of peace. In "A Colloquy of the Czar in Tsarskoye Selo" the Czar receives news of the horrors of the battle of Tannenberg, where a whole army is driven into the swamps of Masuria; but such a little accident does not ruffle a Czar. The poem ends thus:

"Es war eben diesmal ein klein Malheur,
Et cela ne touche pas un empereur."

"The Two Brigades" describes the death-ride of two Russian cavalry brigades into the German lines, where they meet a tragic end. Following this is a poem telling the romance of two Russian lovers, in which a young lieutenant is followed by his sweetheart who in the disguise of a soldier acts as his attendant. Faithful to the end they meet death together on the battlefield, where the German surgeon discovers in the dying soldier a woman with a picture of the dead lieutenant by her side. There is a poem dedicated to the memory of the Social Democrat member of the German Reichstag, Dr. Ludwig Frank. He joins the army, not for the Kaiser but for the German people—the people that is surrounded by envious enemies. On page 15 we find a poem in the

style of the old Scottish ballad, in which King Albert is the leading figure. The Belgian people lament their loss of hearth and home, and their exile and destitution, and cry out to their king for the reason of these things. Following is an English prose rendering of the poem:

"Why is Belgium now German land?
And thou, why art thou banished from thy throne?
Why is thy army vanquished,
King Albert, King Albert?
Why are we refugees, far from home?
Whence comes this deluge of war with its horrors?
Wherefore our need and our lamentation,
King Albert, King Albert?

"Hath not thy heart shuddered
At this judgment on thy deeds?
Doth not thy conscience smite thee,
King Albert, King Albert?
And now when, over all the world,
The misery of Belgium is told,
How endurest thou the burden of thy guilt,
King Albert, King Albert?

King Albert speaks:

"The masters of France and of England too
Held Belgium in the palm of their hand,
And held it unabashed.
I was not king, I was but their thrall;
They knew neither justice nor right,
Naught but the thirst to strike Germany.

"As a buffer they used my Belgium,
And if I have lost my scepter and throne,
Ask England and France for the reason.
Bartered, betrayed, is the land of our fathers,
But there has arisen in our need an avenger,
And may he punish them both."

A similar poem addresses "poor, poor Belgium," and points to her king as the one who is responsible for her sad fate,—the king who has played *va banque* and proved to be a fool dressed in ermine. The poet expresses compassion for Belgium, but not for her king, who has deservedly lost his throne. War is, and will remain, the lot of mankind so long as there are rulers on earth (page 133), and so long as the belief in kings by God's grace prevails. K

PEACE OR WAR? The Great Debate in Congress on the Submarine and the Merchantman. Compiled from *The Congressional Record* by *William Bayard Hale.*

This volume is a concise report of the entire proceedings of Congress during the great war debate which lasted from February 17 to March 8, 1916. The whole debate extended to more than 450,000 words, but in abbreviating it for general reading the editor has been careful that every member of either House who participated should be represented, and in each case a conscientious effort has been made to retain the full strength of his argument. Mr.

Hale is a veteran newspaper man and not over-credulous. When looking over the *Congressional Record* he was so struck with the amount of important discussion of which the public has heard nothing through the newspaper press that he prepared this compendium for as general a circulation as possible. What he finds most clearly emerging above all the confusion of repetition and parliamentary detail is the preponderance of sentiment in both Houses in approval of the principle that the United States "must not yield to the prevailing mania, must not jeopardize the advantages of its position as the world's chief neutral power, must not be cajoled nor bribed nor taunted nor frightened into war, upon any pretext, on any ground, short of the most clearly unescapable, absolute and final." The Organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality is to be most cordially commended for its patriotism in undertaking the responsibility for the publication of so important a document. No one can read the report—and particularly the Senate discussion of the Gore resolution—without having his confidence strengthened in the intelligence, sanity and patriotism of the legislative branch of our national government, whether the opinion he gains at the same time of certain executive acts of the present administration be a favorable or unfavorable one. The issues there under discussion are now matters of history, but as history this discussion still retains its interest. *P*

It is pleasant to see an increasing interest in Lao-tze's *Tao Teh King,* and therefore we welcome a new translation of it by Dr. Isabella Mears, published by William McLellan and Co., of Glasgow, in 1916. The task is not an easy one, and so we need not be disappointed if the author makes mistakes; we must be satisfied if the spirit of the original is appreciated and often satisfactorily rendered into English.

Not wishing to go into detail we will incidentally mention a positive error in Chapter XVII where the omission of the negative spoils the sense of the original. Lao-tze means to say that good rulers govern the people so that their government is not noticed. Thus Dr. Mears's translation says what Lao-tze wanted to deny. She says: "In ancient times the people knew that they had rulers."

One main point of Dr. Mears's version is the wrong translation of the negative *wu* by spirit or inner life. It may happen that sometimes the negation of material or external qualities may denote "spirit" or the higher features of the inner life, but it seems to me preferable to translate an ancient book of a marked originality rather than to interpret it. But we repeat that a translation of Lao-tze is difficult. *K*

We publish on the next page a new national hymn, "God For Us," words and music by Charles Crozat Converse. We wish it Godspeed, and will only add that it will be suitable for general use on patriotic occasions.

GOD FOR US

Words and Music by Charles Crozat Converse

DEDICATED TO

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

BUGLE PRELUDE

Spiritedly

f

f Spiritedly March Style

1. God for us,— Our na - tion's hope is sure;
2. Hand in hand We form the na - tion's bounds;
3. God for us, Our un - ion e'er shall be,

f

God for us,—Our na - tion shall en - dure.
God for us, The na - tion's song re - sounds.
Peace, good - will, A true fra - ter - ni - ty.

His the praise For our pros-per - i - ty,
With one flag O'er land and lake and sea;
Un - ion's might, When God the lead - er is;

GOD FOR US (Continued)

His for peace and for u - ni - ty.
One in heart, one in fe - al - ty.
Wins for free - dom all vic - to - ries.

CHORUS

ff

North and South, and East and West, Sing

ff

God and Un - ion, Home and Lib-er - ty, God for us.

BUGLE INTERLUDE

f

f BUGLE INTERLUDE

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Note.—This edition of Noiré's valuable treatise on language is a reprint of the edition published by Longmans, Green & Co. in London in 1879 to which are added two additional chapters published in Chicago in 1889 by The Open Court Publishing Company.

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